LIVES OF THE WARRIORS

OF THE

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

By General the Hon. Sir EDWARD CUST.

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Count Mansfeld
Count de Tilly
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Admiral Sir George Rooke

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LIVES OF THE WARRIORS

WHO HAVE

COMMANDED FLEETS AND ARMIES

BEFORE THE ENEMY

Warriors of the Seventeenth Century.

"THEN, THEN, YE LAURELLED WARRIORS

OUR FEAST AND SONG SHALL FLOW

TO THE FAME

OF YOUR NAME,

WHEN THE STORM HAS CEASED TO BLOW;

WHEN THE FIERY FIGHT IS HEARD NO MORE, AND THE STORM

HAS CEASED TO BLOW."

CAMPBELL.



THE MILITARY UNIFORM OF THE XVIIth CENTURY

LIVES OF THE WARRIORS

WHO HAVE

COMMANDED FLEETS AND ARMIES

BEFORE THE ENEMY.

Warriors of the Seventeenth Century

GENERAL THE HON. SIR EDWARD CUST, D.C.L.

AUTHOR OF THE "ANNALS OF THE WARS."

"For to read History only for contemplation is a vain and idle pleasure, which passeth away without fruit; but to imitate the virtue of those praised men in it, is the true and public learning."—*Icon Animorum*

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WARRIORS WHO HAVE COMMANDED FLEETS BEFORE THE ENEMY.

so that it was captured by surprise and assault in full daylight; then the King on 17th March sat down before Cambrai, and sent his brother, the Duke of Orleans, to invest St. Omer at the same time. These vigorous proceedings of the French alarmed the States-General, who sent an urgent request to the Stadtholder to take the field and check the progress of the French arms. The Prince immediately marched down with so much expedition, that he arrived on the banks of the Peene before the enemy was aware of the approach of the Dutch army, repaired the bridges, and passing over, took possession of the Abbaye de Peenes. But the King had received information of the Prince's march, and sent up a reinforcement of nine batteries under General Trocy. The Duke of Orleans was enabled to cover his siege with 15,000 men in position; his right, under the Maréchal D'Humières, being posted near Aplingheim, and his left, under Luxembourg, resting in face of the Abbey. The Duke of Orleans took post in two lines,—the infantry in the centre, and the cavalry on either flank. D'Humières attacked the Dutch left wing; but the ground was so beset with trees and hedges, that they could not obtain possession of the Abbey; which, however, the Prince ordered to be fired, lest the French should entrench themselves in it. At the same moment, the French cavalry of the other wing fell upon the Dutch horse and drove them back, taking some prisoners; but William rallied them, and he then steadily resisted the attack upon the centre, but Luxembourg turned his flank with his cavalry, and they made the French fly in their turn. In the end he was worsted, and compelled to repass the river, but he retired in good order towards Poperingue. This battle at Mont Cassel cost His Highness 3000 killed, and twice as many wounded, 4000 prisoners, with thirteen guns, and upwards of fifty colours. The French loss was under 5000; and the Duke of Orleans obtained

1677. —

The battle of Mont Cassel, and defeat of the Prince.

1677. possession of Cassel on the 22nd April; but he did not follow after the Prince of Orange, or gain any other results from his victory. It is related by Sir William Temple, that in this battle, when endeavouring to rally his flying troops, he struck one of the fugitives across the face with his sword, saying, "Thou rascal, I will set this mark upon you now, that I may hang you afterwards." By the acquisition of fresh troops from Munster and Brunswick, the Prince's army became augmented to 50,000 men, so that on 6th August he invested Charleroi, but by the junction of Luxembourg and D'Humières the siege was raised on the 14th.

The Prince goes to England.

On the 17th October the Prince of Orange quitted his army, and, crossing to England, was received with great attention by Charles II. Sir William Temple had been the British Ambassador the previous year, and William had contracted an intimate friendship with him. As the two walked together, one fine January morning, in the gardens of the Houndslardyke palace, their conversation turned on marriage. The Prince said that, being the only one left of his lineage, he had been often pressed by his friends to think of marrying, and he knew it was a thing to be done at one time or another. Temple's mission was specially that of peace; and he quickly saw that a marriage between the cousins might advance it. But William said he would only speak with him on the subject as a friend and not as an ambassador. He said, like a sensible man, that "no circumstances of fortune or interest would engage him, unless he could secure temper and principle in a companion; that he was aware that he might not be very easy for a wife to live with; for if she gave him trouble at home, it was a thing he should not be able to bear." After two hours' talk in this style, the Prince of Orange concluded "that he would enter on the pursuit with the Lady Mary, of whom Temple said both his wife and sister

spoke with advantage. The Prince wrote to both Charles II. and the Duke of York to beg their favour in it, and desired their leave to visit England on the subject which now carried him over. On his arrival at Harwich he took post for Newmarket, where his royal uncles were enjoying the October Meeting, and had much conversation with them about a peace; but he dexterously avoided, much to the surprise and amusement of both, to say one word on the subject of the Princess. Sir William Temple was here to meet him, and he told his friend privately "that he was resolved to see the young Lady Mary before he entered into that affair." Charles II. said, sarcastically, that "he supposed the Dutchman's whims must be humoured;" and accordingly he carried him to Whitehall, where he had him lodged, and then presented him to his fair niece at St. James's. The Prince, upon the sight of Princess Mary, was so pleased with her person and manners, or "humours," as he called them, that he immediately named the matter to the Earl of Danby, who named it to the King and Duke; upon which Charles sent for the Prince, and said, "Nephew, it is not good for man to be alone; I will give you a helpmeet for you. But remember that love and war do not agree well together; so we will first discuss the terms of a peace." But William, with his accustomed phlegm, replied, "that he must end his marriage before he entered upon the peace treaty." Danby was accordingly ordered to summon a Council, where the matter being declared and agreed to, the King presented the Prince to his niece as the person he designed to be her husband. After this the whole Council went in a body to compliment the Princess, and the Court hastened to kiss her hand. So that it was in fact all settled before Barillon, the French ambassador, heard of it, who of course sent intelligence of it by express to Louis XIV., who declared in reply, "that the Duke had given his daughter to the greatest enemy he had

1677. —

His marriage with the Princess Mary Nov. 4.

1677. in the world." And upon Danby inquiring how His Majesty received the news, the Ambassador answered, "as he would have done the loss of an army." The Prince of Orange likewise communicated to the States-General, by express, an affair that equally took them by surprise; but they forthwith assembled, and testified their gratification by a public edict in terms of joy and satisfaction, declaring the mighty esteem they entertained for so glorious an alliance. This answer arriving in London on the 4th November, which was His Highness's birthday, the marriage was immediately ordered to take place. It was Sunday, and nine o'clock at night, before the ceremony took place in the Lady Mary's bedchamber. The King and his Queen, the Duke of York and his Duchess, and Compton, Bishop of London, the bride's preceptor—who performed the service—were all who were ostensibly present beside the attendants. Beatrice, wife to the Duke of York, was hourly expected to lie in; and such an event might altogether change the prospects of the bride, who was at this moment in the category of heir presumptive to the Crown of England. Charles, however, gave away his niece, and overbore her maidenly modesty by his boisterous jocularity. He called to hurry the proceedings. "Come, Bishop, make all haste you can, lest my sister the Duchess of York should bring us a boy; and then the marriage will be disappointed." The ceremony over at eleven o'clock, all the festivities that were then customary took place, breaking cake and drinking possets, by all who assisted at the marriage; and the King, drawing the curtains with his own royal hand, shouted aloud, "St. George for England!"

Public rejoicings. The people knew nothing of the marriage till the next morning, when they gave all public testimonials of their joy by ringing of bells and bonfires. The conduits ran with wine, and sweetmeats were tossed among the populace. The Prince sent to his bride, by

his favourite, Bentinck, a magnificent *cadeau de noce* of jewels, worth £40,000. The Lady Anne, who at this time dearly loved her sister, was sick of the small-pox; and the parental tenderness of the Duke of York had enjoined that all intercourse should be cut off between the sisters, who did not indeed see one another before the bride and bridegroom quitted England. There was a grand ball at Court on the 15th November, the Queen's birthday; and it had been arranged that the bride, attired as she was, very richly, with all her jewels, should go in this guise on board the yacht. But the wind that night setting in contrary gave her a reprieve, and she enjoyed her family circle, to which she was much attached, till the 19th. The Princess bade adieu to her beloved home at St. James's at nine o'clock in the morning, and repaired to Whitehall to take leave of the Queen, who told her, to comfort her breaking heart, "to consider how much better her case was than her own, for when she quitted her home she had not even seen her husband." "But, Madam," replied the Princess, "your Majesty came to England; and I am going out of England." The King and the Duke accompanied the bride and bridegroom down the river as far as Erith, where they all dined together; and the married pair then re-embarked at Gravesend under all naval honours, and escorted by an English and Dutch fleet.

1677. —

William arrives at the Hague with the Princess.

The Stadtholder brought back his bride to the Hague in the first days of December. There had been but little time for courting, and it had been a hasty wooing; but it was a most politic alliance, for orders were sent forthwith to the negotiators at Nimeguen to make common cause, and to act in strict alliance with the States-General; and, moreover, Charles II. recalled some troops that he had lent to the service of France, to make the appearance, at least, of a change in his policy. The British Parliament also now entered warmly into the contest, thanked the King for marry-

1678. ing his niece to a Protestant Prince, and readily voted the requisite supplies for sending out a fleet of ninety men of war, and an army of 29,870 men. Louis XIV. accordingly, roused into renewed energy, left Paris for his army on the 7th February; and, on the 1st March, to the astonishment and not a little to the alarm of the Dutch, sat down with 70,000 or 80,000 men before Ghent, which the Spaniards had so neglected to garrison, that there were not above 500 or 600 men in the place, which accordingly surrendered in nine days. The French King then turned upon Ypres; but that place resisted somewhat longer. But having captured this also, His Majesty, sated with the glory of two successful and rapidly succeeding sieges, returned to Paris.

Louis XIV. takes Ghent and Ypres.

Negotiations for peace resumed at Nimeguen.

In the meantime 3000 English horse and foot, under the Duke of Monmouth, the natural son to the King, arrived at Bruges to reinforce the Prince of Orange's army. But the Dutch were getting thoroughly tired of the war, and did not then know that the French King's resources, though he had been victorious in the field, were utterly exhausted. Louis XIV., however, with his wonted arrogance, as soon as he returned to Paris, haughtily sent to his ambassador at Nimeguen a proposal of terms to be distributed among the other negotiators, stating what, in his condescension, he was disposed to yield to his adversaries.

The States-General were very urgent with their allies to accept what His Majesty offered; but, in their haste to anticipate the Confederates, they were astonished to find that the French ambassadors refused their too ready acquiescence, and demanded heavier conditions. The other powers threw the odium of this precipitation upon William, who, they said, had acted with a view to a match with an English Princess for his own benefit at their cost. But he answered indignantly that "it shall never be said that I sold my honour for a wife;" and he persuaded the States-

General to re-assert their dignity by withdrawing their ambassador from the Conference. Notwithstanding this, however, Van Beverning signed a treaty with Louis XIV., which the States-General ratified. 1678. — The Treaty signed; displeasure of William.

William was enraged to the greatest degree at the success of this intrigue against himself, and took a somewhat unaccountable step to frustrate it. It happened that Mons was at this period blocked up by Maréchal Luxembourg, and was known to be reduced to great extremities. The Prince, knowing that the Spanish and English were posted near his army on the canal of Brussels, hastily quitted the Hague by night, on the 26th July, and joined his army; when, having called a Council of War, he resolved to unite with the Generals of the Allies, and attack the French Maréchal, who, reposing on the faith of the treaty, was marching leisurely to hinder some relief from approaching the town. Luxembourg had his quarters in the Abbey of St. Denys, and so little dreamt of any attack that he was at dinner when word was brought him that the Prince of Orange was coming to surprise him. The Maréchal immediately mounted his horse, and collected some troops in Casteau; but the guns of the Dutch opened upon the cloister with such effect that he was forced to retire in some disorder. In the meanwhile some English dragoons, under General Collier, followed by some infantry under General Delvick, routed the enemy, and in the midst of it the young Duke of Monmouth, who now saw fire for the first time, was at the side of the Prince of Orange, calling out, "Now follow me, follow me." The Spaniards on the left wing attacked Casteau, and forced the enemy at last to quit that place. The Earl of Ossory, with the Dutch footguards, continued in action for the space of five hours; and William advanced so impetuously with them, that he would have been cut down by an adventurous French captain, but for General Overkirke, who let fly a pistol at the French

The Prince attacks Luxembourg at Cartrau.

1678. officer, and so saved the Prince's life. The Duke of Luxembourg under favour of the night collected his troops, and retreated towards Mons, which place surrendered to his arms in a few days. The Prince of Orange, indeed, gained no decided advantage in this affair, which was a bold violation of the laws of humanity, if not of the laws of nations, for 2000 French and as many of the Allies most needlessly lost their lives on either side in this discreditable affair.

The negotiations for peace were not so soon adjusted between the Kings of France and Spain, the treaty between them not having been signed till the 17th September. But the end of the war was in many matters, arising out of the Spanish war and treaty, disastrous to the Prince of Orange: a great portion of his patrimony in Brabant underwent the common calamities of war by being laid waste. In Franche Comté, which had to change its masters, all the lands, furniture, and goods of His Highness were exposed to sale by sound of trumpet, as being deemed appanage of the Crown; and it was a great grief to the Prince to lose his own Principality of Orange, beside the being exposed to the greatest indignities from the dominant Roman Catholic factions; for not only were the walls of his capital city demolished, but the University was disfranchised, and the young students ordered to be sent home to their parents, while a prohibition was decreed against any of the Reformed religion being educated therein for the future. Our hero constantly affirmed that France had no other object in ending this war but the prospect of soon beginning another with increased advantage, and these encroachments were made designedly and insolently in defiance of treaties as the conqueror.

The Stadtholder now enjoyed many years of repose, and a very high consideration in Holland, where, notwithstanding a few dissentients of the old Barneveldt party, he was regarded by the public voice as one

without whose advice nothing ought to be done. He was looked upon as the preserver of their country from the power of Louis XIV.; and all Europe regarded him as the bulwark of the Protestant faith. Affairs in England soon threw him in this character into the politics and counsels of the popular party there. In 1680, indeed, he was already in concert with the German princes in projecting an alliance against France, and the Earl of Sunderland, at the head of the King's government, entered into a particular confidence with him on that subject; but in the year 1686 Bishop Burnet, happening to be on a tour upon the Continent, came to the Hague, where he was received with great confidence, and both the Prince and Princess of Orange entered freely with him upon public affairs. The consequence of this beginning was that William came into correspondence with all the principal Protestants during the anxious time that followed King James's accession to the throne. At length many of the English nobility and gentry, and some of the principal clergy, invited the Prince to come over and assist them by arms in the recovery of their constitutional rights: and, not satisfied with a mere invitation, several of the highest rank went over to Holland, and personally urged and encouraged the Prince to assist in the deliverance of their State and Church by force of arms. William was, without doubt, a man actuated by ambition, and was readily persuaded to do that which might at once shed lustre upon his own name and gratify his intense hatred against France. His Highness, however, before he pledged himself, held personal conferences with Castenega, the Spanish governor of the Netherlands, and with the great heads of the German Protestants, the Electors of Brandenburg and Saxony, the Landgrave of Cassel, and with the Princes of the House of Lunenburg, to induce them to undertake to defend the Continental interests of William during his absence in England.

1678. —

1680.

1686.

Bishop Burnet goes to the Hague, and is received into the confidence of William.

The Prince is invited by the discontented English to come to their assistance by arms.

1686. A dispute arising about the vacancy of the Electorate of Cologne, the Prince of Orange had no difficulty in persuading the States-General to form a camp between Grave and Nimeguen for the protection of their interests in this dispute between Austria and France; and he advanced money out of his own resources towards equipping for service twenty ships of the line. It happened fortunately that the cruelties inflicted on the Protestants by Louis XIV., and the terrors that spread to Holland from the bigotry of James II., kindled such a religious resentment among the Dutch, that, although the Stadtholder was too prudent to take the States-General into his confidence, the body of the people evinced the utmost eagerness for these warlike attempts. Thus things
1688. continued until July and August, 1688, with so much secrecy and so little suspicion that neither the Court of England nor of France seemed to feel any alarm about them. At length an advertisement of the preparations in Holland reached James II. from the King of France; but the former did not think matters so near a crisis, and suffered his alarm to subside.

The Prince decides on the invasion of England.

At this time Marshal Schomberg entered into a particular confidence with the Prince of Orange; and, as he was a man without allegiance or country, he readily accepted the service of William. Admiral Herbert, who had private grounds for animosity against King James, went over to Holland, and accepted the offer made to him by William to command His Highness's fleet as Lieutenant-General; for it was thought that nothing was so likely to make the English fleet join the undertaking as to see one who had so lately commanded themselves in command of the Dutch fleet. The Prince still continued to cover his design, and he ordered a review of his army, and made preparations for an encampment of two months at Nimeguen, while Fagel, the friend and minister of the Stadtholder in Holland, undertook to obtain a loan of four millions to

the Prince from the States-General for the Prince's object. 1688.

King James, having allowed himself to neglect the information of the King of France, was astonished when he received from the British minister at the Hague most unquestionable advices of the intended invasion of England. And now, having definitively settled all the preparations, Herbert went to sea with the Dutch fleet, and was ordered to stand over to the Downs, and try whether any of the English fleet would come over to him. But the contrary winds that prevailed made the attempt impracticable; and very soon a storm, amounting to a terrific tempest, arose at south-west, and the fleet was forced back again to Helvoetslys. But this was followed by a wind from the east, on the 1st November, when William, calling God to witness the purity of his intention, went on board the flagship. His armament consisted of fifty stout ships of war, twenty-five frigates, and an equal number of fire-ships, and 400 transports, carrying 14,000 soldiers. The Prince carried on his ship the flag of England, inscribed, "The Protestant Religion and the Liberties of England;" but on his state barge he carried an Orange flag, and upon it the motto of the House of Nassau, "Je maintiendrai." The fleet, however, had been but few hours under sail when there arose such a storm as dispersed the whole fleet; but the rendezvous had been prudently and fortuitously appointed for landing at Torbay. This was on the 4th November, the birthday of the Prince of Orange,—who was now thirty-eight years of age,—and the eleventh anniversary of his marriage. His Highness dedicated his time to his devotions as he continued his course down the Channel; but before night the fleet was carried into Torbay, where the forces were landed with such diligence and tranquillity, that the whole army was on shore before day broke; but the wind, again rising to

Departure of the fleet.

The forces land at Torbay.

1688. a hurricane, would have rendered a disembarkation impossible if the landing had been deferred for only a few hours. It was the 5th November, the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot, when the Prince entered the village of Brixham; and, turning to Bishop Burnet, he said, "Ought not I to believe in Predestination?" At three o'clock he mounted his horse, and rode with Schomberg to reconnoitre. They found the English every where celebrating their national holiday as they rode four miles forward, and lodged at a little town called Newton-Bushell. The army marched from Torbay the following day at noon, and the march was continued to Exeter. But, instead of meeting an enemy, he here encountered a powerful friend; for Courtenay of Powderham Castle sent his son to pray the Prince to come and sleep at his seat that night; which His Highness did, and remained there four whole days.

William arrives at Exeter.

The Prince stayed a week at Exeter, from which the Bishop and the Dean absented themselves; and the magistrates evinced great backwardness in showing their sentiments. Indeed there was not at first the encouragement that was expected; but, on the tenth day, the nobility came in one by one, and among them Sir Edward Seymour, by whose advice an association was formed, which was signed by all persons who had rallied round the Prince, and was then sent to all parts of the kingdom, and signed by great numbers every where. From this time affairs changed and prospered. The army marched forward to Salisbury, where Lord Cornbury, the son of the Earl of Clarendon, deserting from the King's army, brought three regiments over to the invaders. King James II. had selected Salisbury Plain as the place of rendezvous to assemble his forces, whither they now repaired from several sides with all possible diligence, and the King himself arrived at the camp on the 19th November. The Earl of Feversham was his general, but the

Desertion of Lord Cornbury to William.

1688.
—

monarch was now first apprised that many leading officers had avowed that they could not in their consciences fight against a Prince who was come over to secure their religion and liberties. The very next day the Lord Churchill (the great Marlborough) went over, with the Duke of Grafton, Colonel Berkeley, and several officers followed him This palpable proof of the evidence of the information he had received, and particularly Churchill's defection, so depressed the spirits of the King, that he quitted the army, and returned to London with a precipitation that resembled a flight. On his arrival he learnt that the Prince of Denmark, who had quitted him on the road at Andover, had gone back to the Prince of Orange; and that his daughter, the Princess Anne, had privately withdrawn from Whitehall, and gone to Nottingham. These things put the poor King into the most inexpressible dejection of mind, to see himself forsaken not only by those whom he had trusted and favoured, but even by his own children.

The desertion of Churchill, the Duke of Grafton, and others.

The Prince of Denmark and the Princess Anne leave the King.

The Prince now marched forward to Sherborne. A foolish ballad was composed at this time treating the Papists in a very contemptuous manner, which had a burden said to be made up of Irish words, "Lero, lero, Lilli-bullero." The whole army took up this chaunt, which was adopted as they marched by all people, both in town and country; and perhaps never had so trivial a thing so great an effect. It was originally the plan of the campaign to have secured Bristol and Gloucester, and so have marched to Oxford; but the King's precipitate return to London put an end to this precaution, and the Prince resolved to make all the haste he could to the capital, where things were taking a course greatly in his favour. On the army arriving at Hungerford, His Highness was met by Commissioners from the King, to ask him what he demanded. A day was taken to consider of an answer. The Prince desired the Earls of Oxford, Shrewsbury, and Clarendon

Advance of the Prince. Effect of the ballad of "Lilli-bullero."

King James sends Commissioners to William.

1688. to treat with the Marquis of Halifax and the Earls of Nottingham and Godolphin, whom the King had sent; and they delivered the Prince's answer to them on Sunday the 8th December. The King seemed at first disposed to accept these proposals, and called an extraordinary Council of all the peers that were in town to deliberate upon them. Before the Council broke up, the King, addressing himself to the Duke of Bedford, said, "My Lord, you are a good man, and have a great influence; you can do much for me at this time." To which his Grace replied, "I am an old man, and can do but little; but I had once a son, who could now have been very serviceable to your Majesty." The King was struck dumb with his answer, for it was he who had sent Lord William Russell to the block.

Flight of King James II.

But the same night James II. took counsel with his Popish counsellors, who thought it most advantageous to their religious hopes that the King should preserve all his pretensions, though at present unable to support them, and advised him to withdraw into France. The Queen prevailed with the King not only to consent to this, but to let her go there first to make ready for him; and accordingly she went on the 10th December to Portsmouth, and from thence crossed to France in a man of war. The King, determined to follow the Queen in disguise, sent the same evening to the Lord Chancellor, and commanded him to deliver up to him the Great Seal. The same night, or about three o'clock in the morning of the 11th, James, dressed in a plain suit and a bobwig, took water at Whitehall, accompanied by a few attendants, who were not acquainted with his intention. He pretended to be the servant of Sir Edward Hales, who carried the Great Seal, and flung it into the river, in order that nothing might be legally done by the State in his absence. The Earl of Feversham, as soon as he was apprised of the King's flight, dismissed the army, and gave notice of it by trumpet to the Prince of Orange, who, while advancing

to Oxford, rested at Abingdon, where he received this notification, and moved immediately to Windsor. But the poor King, disappointed at not finding the vessel he had ordered to meet him at Faversham, had been stopped by the police, and had been brought back to Whitehall on the 16th December.

1688. — Return of James to Whitehall.

His Majesty's return threw the Prince into great perplexities. It is true that the King had no army, and was in no condition to command any thing. Indeed he wrote to the Prince to invite him to meet him at St. James's, that they might personally confer together on the means of redressing public grievances. But the Prince thought it better to continue his march, and moved forward to Sion House, near Brentford, whence he despatched his Dutch guards to take possession of all posts about Whitehall and St. James's. The King sent to request Count Solms, who commanded the guards, to allow him to have his own guard; but upon a refusal he desired permission to withdraw to Rochester, which he did about noon on the 18th; and a few hours later the Prince of Orange made his entry into London, without pomp, at about four o'clock in the afternoon, in a travelling carriage drawn by post-horses, with a cloak-bag strapped at the back of it. In this guise he slunk across the Park into St. James's Palace. It happened to rain very heavily; but great numbers had assembled on the road-side, desirous to see the great man enter. The day drew on, and they had stayed very long in the wet, when this miserable *cortége* passed by, and immensely disappointed the mob. But he, being an enemy to show and parade, averse to all popular arts, and dead to the voice of popular joy, took no notice whatever of the acclamations of the people, and passed on in a manner at once so undignified and ungracious as to cool very much the popular enthusiasm towards him, and to set their spirits upon the fret. The public bodies, however, waited upon the Prince on his arrival, and

The Prince of Orange enters London.

1688. expressed their zeal for his cause—the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, and a great many other bodies, and the nobility and others also in great numbers. Old Sergeant Maynard came with the men of the law; he was nearly ninety, and the Prince took notice of his great age, saying he believed "he must have outlived all the lawyers of his time." The old man wittily replied, "True, Sir; and I should have outlived the Law itself, if your Highness had not come over." The Bishop and the Clergy waited on the Prince the following day, when the Prince and Princess of Denmark took up their lodgings at the Cockpit, as if nothing had happened. The King remained at Rochester till the 23rd December, when he quitted it privately at three o'clock in the morning with his natural son the Duke of Berwick, and went on horseback as far as the sea-shore, where he found a frigate that landed him at Ambleteuse, in France, from whence he proceeded to join his Queen at St. Germain. Thus, without firing a single shot, the Prince of Orange obtained possession of the King's palace, and had his royal person in his power for several weeks. Within three days of James's departure the Prince was requested to take upon himself the administration of public affairs until a Convention could be assembled to settle the constitution of the kingdom.

James II. lands in France.

The Prince remained at St. James's all this time with a patience and forbearance that were most remarkable, going but little abroad, and hearing all that was addressed to him, but seldom making any answers. After this reserve had continued for several weeks, he called for some of the leaders, and imparted to them that he had been given to understand to his surprise that one of the intended measures would be for placing the Princess his wife on the throne, and that he was to reign by her side by courtesy. He said that no man could esteem a woman more than he did the Princess; but he was so made, that

he could not think of holding any thing by apron-strings, nor should he think it reasonable to have any share in the government unless it was put in his own person, and that for term of life. If they thought fit to settle their constitution otherwise, he should not oppose it, but would go back to Holland, and meddle no more in their affairs. This was presently told about, and was not in fact intended to be kept secret, as it helped not a little to bring the debates at Westminster to a determination. At length both Houses agreed, and voted severally that the Prince and Princess of Orange should be King and Queen of England, but that the sole and full regal power should be in the Prince only, in the name of both. This was only carried on a division in the House of Lords by two or three majority, in a House of 120; and it went very hard in the Commons. 1688. —

Parliament declares the Prince and Princess King and Queen of England.

On the 12th February the Princess arrived in London, expressing her satisfaction at the decision, for she said "she was the Prince's wife, and never would be other than she might be in conjunction with him and under him." The next day the Prince and Princess of Orange being seated on two large chairs under a canopy of state in the Banqueting-House at Whitehall, both Houses of the Convention waited upon them in a body, and, having read to them the Declaration agreed upon, made a solemn tender of the Crown to their Highnesses: and the same day they were proclaimed King and Queen of England, France, and Ireland, by the names of William and Mary, amidst the shouts and acclamations of the people. To those who are superstitious about days and seasons it may be interesting to know that the 13th February, 1689, on which this great and solemn act was ratified, was Ash Wednesday. 1689.

William and Mary proclaimed.

James and his Queen had been assured by Louis XIV., that he should be received in France with every mark of cordial affection. So that when their Majesties arrived the first day of January, the King

Kind reception of James by Louis XIV.

1689. of France went down with extraordinary state to the Hall of Guards to receive the ex-King, and apprized him that this Palace was assigned as a residence for his family and Court, with 50,000 livres a month for their support.

The only hope left to King James of recovering his throne now rested upon the efforts of the Roman Catholic party in Ireland. Tyrconnel was still Lord Lieutenant, and reminded the exiled King that he was still the undisputed sovereign of Ireland; but he pressed upon His Majesty his need of supplies, and sent over the Lord Mountjoy to explain personally the situation of affairs. The King of France at once assured him that he should have the assistance of such forces as could be spared from the necessity of upholding the war in the Netherlands. An army consisting of 2500 English and Scotch volunteers, together with about 5000 Frenchmen, and about 100 French officers, to organize a native force, embarked at Brest at the latter end of February, carrying with them a great treasure of money, as a loan from the French King. The parting of the French Monarch with the ex-King is pictured with great detail by the French Memoir writers. Louis XIV. unbuckled the sword he wore, and presented it to his brother, telling him he hoped it would prove fortunate; and then, embracing him in the sight of all his Court, said, with a bluntness that nevertheless savoured strongly of true kindness, "The best wish that I can offer to your Majesty is, that I may never see you again." The French King ordered a convoy of fourteen men of war and six frigates to escort the invading expedition, and ordered to be sent on board the King's barges a most royal and splendid camp equipage,—plate, tents, &c., and a round sum of money for his pocket.

James lands at Kinsale, March 12.

James landed with this army at Kinsale on the 12th March. He was received in the kingdom that yet remained to him with acclamations of joy, for the Irish

Roman Catholics regarded him as a martyr to their religion. The Viceroy appeared at the head of 40,000 men, mostly half-naked peasantry, ready enough to fight, but neither armed nor disciplined. The first act of the King on receiving Tyrconnel was to create him a Duke. King William's first knowledge of this expedition appears to have been the intelligence of James having sailed from Brest; on which he immediately declared war against France, and sent a message to both Houses of Parliament. The commotion in London was very great, for of course there was yet a considerable Royalist party, who, together with the Roman Catholics, were revived in their hopes by the intelligence. Indeed the same night there was found written by some wag upon the walls of the Palace, "This great house to be let on St. John's Day." The pasquinade, though somewhat Popish in its calendar, was intended to intimate that the present Royal tenants of the Palace would be compelled to vacate it before the midsummer quarter.

1689. —

King William declares war against France.

Before the expedition was known to have left the French shores, King William despatched Admiral Herbert with twelve ships of the line from Spithead, in order to intercept the enemy. He was driven by stress of weather into Milford Haven, but, learning the destination of the fleet, he steered for Kinsale, and at length, on the 1st May, discovered the naval force that formed the escort under Admiral Chateau Renault riding safely in Bantry Bay. Herbert attacked, but after some inconsiderable loss retired from the fight to the Isles of Scilly. In the mean time a considerable army was forming under the command of the Marshal Duke of Schomberg, to bring the kingdom of Ireland into subjection to William. This occasioned considerable delay, and in the meanwhile King James made good his possession of the kingdom.

The Battle of Bantry Bay.

In the latter end of March King James made his public entry into Dublin, being met at the Castle

James enters Dublin.

1689. gate by a brilliant procession of Popish bishops and priests in their pontificals, bearing the host, which His Majesty publicly adored before all the people. So suicidal an act valued already half the subsequent battle of the Boyne! The Council at once issued a proclamation to summon a Parliament to meet on the 7th May

King William, to keep his cause alive, on the receipt of news from Londonderry that the Protestants there had shut their gates against James's troops, sent arms and ammunition to enable the place to maintain its resistance; and named Colonel Lundy, on whose fidelity he depended, Governor of that town. King James, having again quitted Dublin, advanced with his army, and, having taken Coleraine, had marched forward to invest a place almost in sight of Londonderry. On receiving notice of the King's approach, Colonel Lundy ordered Colonel Crofton to take post on the Long Causey, where he vigorously maintained himself for the night, when, being overpowered by numbers, he retired fighting into the city. Here most unexpectedly the Governor summoned a Council of War, who resolved that the place was untenable, and that the troops should withdraw out of it, and that the inhabitants should be left to make the best terms they could. The garrison was furious at this resolution, and threatened immediate vengeance; but Lundy contrived to escape in disguise with a load of matches on his back, and to take boat for Scotland. An officer having in the meanwhile gone out to King James, the Irish army advanced to the walls, when Mr. Walker, the Rector of Donoughmore, who had brought in a regiment that he had raised in Tyrone for the Protestant cause, and had now assumed the command of the town with 7020 men, gave His Majesty so warm a reception, that he withdrew in haste to St. John's town.

Siege of Londonderry.

Walker assumes the command, and repulses the Irish army.

It was certainly a bold undertaking for a Divine to

hope to maintain an ill-fortified town with a garrison deserted by its proper leader, and composed of many inexperienced inhabitants frightened in their own homes, without any engineers to instruct them in the necessary works of defence. They had not above ten days' provision, and not above twenty guns, few of which were mounted. King James's advisers were divided in opinion as to the course to adopt to reduce Londonderry. One proposal was, to march with an overwhelming power, and, as the place was not capable of resisting, to overpower all opposition, and take it: the other was, to block it up; for in a little time it must surrender for want of food; and in the meanwhile the army might proceed to more vigorous designs. 1689.

This brave and successful resistance of an almost open town did however so discourage the enemy that, on the last day of July, they raised the siege, and marched away from Londonderry in the night time. The town of Inniskillen signalized itself no less by the stubbornness and resolution of its defence, under Gustavus Hamilton the governor. Summoned to declare for King James on the 11th March, they resolved to stand firm in maintaining King William's title, and held their ground until the day before Londonderry was relieved, when in a sally they are said to have routed and knocked on the head several thousands of Irish under Mackarty Lord Mountcashel, at Newton Butler.

The siege raised, July 31.

Successful defence of Inniskillen.

The news of the raising of the sieges of Londonderry and Inniskillen induced Marshal Schomberg to hasten the new levies on board the transports, and on the 12th August he sailed from Hoylake, on the Cheshire shore, with about ninety vessels, containing about 10,000 horse and foot, and landed at Bangor, opposite to Carrickfergus, without any opposition. Having then sent out his cavalry to scour the adjacent country to obtain intelligence of the enemy, he sat down before Carrickfergus, which surrendered to him on the 21st. During this siege he was joined by reinforcements, which

Marshal Schomberg lands with an army.

1689. raised his army to about 14,000 men, including 2000 horse; and he now moved by Belfast on Dundalk, where he was thought to have rested rather unaccountably long, and indeed where he at length went into winter quarters.

1690. King William was impatient to take the field himself; but he found that he had undertaken a more onerous task than he had anticipated in attempting to settle the affairs of a people divided and subdivided in opinions, and prone to oppose any thing and every thing which he could suggest for the settlement of their constitution, after the most trying shocks of the severance of the State from the established family on the throne. The factions and heats of politicians and of sects quite oppressed him, and he was glad to tear himself from all this worry by starting from London on the 4th June, having invested his Queen by Act of Parliament with full powers of governing solely during his absence.

William lands at Carrickfergus, June 14.

Attended by Prince George of Denmark and several noblemen of distinction, he repaired to Chester, slept the night at Gayton Hall, the seat of Squire Glegg, and embarked at Park-gate the next day, but did not land at Carrickfergus until the 14th. He lost no time after he landed, but went on to Belfast, where he was met by Marshal Schomberg, the Prince of Wurtemberg, and other generals. He ordered the whole army to encamp at a place called Loughbritland, where, upon an exact review, he found it to consist of 36,000 men of all nations,—English, Dutch, French, Germans, and Danes, all well appointed in every respect; for, although Schomberg had been charged by the ignorant with supineness, he had taken such a fatherly care of the troops that, notwithstanding many had died from the fatal epidemic that had prevailed in the army during their winter sojourn at Dundalk, they were now refreshed by the good provisions he had given them, or by the large magazines he had formed, that they were now much rather inclined

to encounter the dangers of the field than to languish any longer in winter quarters. 1690.

The King declared openly that he had not come to Ireland to let the grass grow under his feet, and therefore ordered the army to march the same day from Loughbritland to Dundalk, and thence to Ardee. King James and his Court had chuckled over the difficulties that beset King William, and were so much elated with the news of the debates in the English Parliament, and by the distractions of the opposing factions in the city of London, that they did not expect William would dare to leave England; so that His Majesty had been six days landed in Ireland before they were apprized of it. This was, however, no sooner known, than King James quitted Dublin under a guard of militia, commanded by Colonel Luttrel, taking with him a reinforcement of old experienced French soldiers, lately come from France, and marched up to the Boyne, on the right bank of which his army was encamped, about as numerous as that of King William. After King James had assumed the command, he held a Council of War, wherein both his French and his Irish officers expressed their opinion against putting the campaign to the hazard of a battle.

James marches to the Boyne.

James was, however, English enough in his strategy to be bent upon a fight, for which he evinced uncommon confidence and alacrity. The position he had assumed was strong, having a deep river in his front, secured by a morass, and commanded by a rising ground; so that he thought he could not be attacked but with a manifest advantage on his side. William was equally plucky in marching up his army to the encounter, and when he had reached the north bank of the Boyne he galloped forward to reconnoitre his adversary's situation in company with Schomberg and his other generals. They could see the enemy's camp formed up in two lines all along the river. Some of his *entourage* remarked that they were like a handful;

1690. for there were only forty-six battalions in the whole. — On which the Dutchman coolly replied, "We shall soon be better acquainted with their numbers." He then removed nearer to Old Bridge, about 200 paces up the river, on the side of which he stood, to take a nearer view of the position. Some field-pieces were now opened against the *cortége*, with some apparent suspicion that King William was among them; and not only were a man and two horses killed by their fire close to His Majesty, but a ball, at ricochet, grazed his right shoulder, and caused a considerable scarification. The gunners perceiving the confusion that immediately reigned among the attendants (although the old soldier bore the blow without the least emotion), raised a shout, which the Irish army took up, concluding that the King was killed; and several squadrons of horse were set in motion, as if they intended to take advantage of the circumstance, and cross the river to the attack. One of the Royal attendants having clapped a handkerchief on the place where the ball had torn the coat, His Majesty only said, "there was no necessity that the bullet should have come nearer;" and after dismounting to have his wound examined, he again mounted his horse, and rode along the line to show himself to his army after so narrow an escape. It was in the nature of things that this should excite the enthusiasm of his soldiers, but William continued his observations without the least emotion till four o'clock in the afternoon, when he dined on the field; and afterwards, having completed his reconnoisance, he called his generals around him, and expressed his resolution to attack the enemy in the morning by crossing the river in their front.

King William wounded.

Marshal Schomberg opposed the design, and recommended that a considerable detachment of horse and foot should be sent during the night to Slanebridge, in order to cross the Boyne there. King James was also at the same moment consulting a Council of War, and

resisting the advice of Hamilton to send eight regiments towards the bridge of Slane. The cannonade, which had hithterto continued on both sides, now ceased. But King William before nightfall again rode quite through the army, and gave orders to his men, as they were gathered round their camp fires, to provide every man a green bough, or sprig, in his hat, to distinguish them from the enemy, whom he had perceived to wear pieces of white paper for the same object. He also inquired particularly as to their being provided with a good stock of ammunition. 1690.

Battle of the Boyne, July 1.

The morning of the 1st July being come, Lieutenant-General Douglas moved at six o'clock towards Slanebridge, the young Count Schomberg leading forward the horse. Here they crossed the river with little opposition; the Irish, retreating in some haste towards Duleek, were followed by young Schomberg; but Douglas, with the foot, coming upon the main body of the enemy, sent back for reinforcements, and was obliged to await their arrival. The Dutch regiment of foot-guards awaiting this braved the fire at Old Bridge, wading up to their middle, and got over. King James had posted a strong body of musketeers behind the hedges and houses here, which galled their advance; but the guards being followed up by some other battalions, they began to clear the obstacle, when they charged with great impetuosity under Sir John Hanmer and Count Nassau as they came out of the stream. But at the same time General Hamilton, with a considerable body of both arms, came from behind some hillocks, where they had not been seen, and broke through La Caillemote's French Protestant regiment, where the gallant commander of the regiment received his mortal wound, and was carried back across the river. The men who had lost their leader began to lose heart and to give way, some of them even recrossing the river. Seeing this, the veteran Schomberg, who in his ardour to head them, had

1690. — neglected to put on his armour, pointing to the enemy, exclaimed "Allons, Messieurs, regardez vos persecuteurs;" and with this short harangue they followed him to the charge, when a small body of King James's guards fell upon him, and he was slightly wounded in the neck. But unfortunately the regiment of Cambon at this moment rashly fired upon these horsemen, and one of their balls struck the brave old Marshal a mortal wound, of which he instantly expired.

Death of Marshal Schomberg.

King William might be said to have been all this time "every where." He had crossed the river with the left wing with some difficulty, for his horse was bogged on the other side, and he was forced to alight; but with some assistance he got the horse out of his difficulty, remounted, and, with the Danish, and Dutch, and Inniskillen horse, fell upon the centre of the enemy, who, taken with a panic at the resoluteness of the attack, retreated to the village of Dunmore. Here, however, the Irish made so vigorous a stand that, notwithstanding all King William could do, his men recoiled before their opponents, until the regiments of Cunningham and Levison, dismounting, lined the hedges on each side of the defile, and did such execution upon the pursuers as abated their ardour. In the mêlée, Richard Hamilton, who had been the head and front of the brave defence of the Irish, was wounded and taken. He was brought up to the King, who asked him if he thought the Irish would make any further resistance. "Upon my honour," replied the General, "I think they will." "*Your honour!*" said the King with ineffable disdain; "*Your honour!*" and took no further notice of the outrageous treachery that had carried Hamilton over to the enemy when specially entrusted with His Majesty's confidence[4].

Capture of Hamilton.

[4] This Richard Hamilton was the brother of Anthony, the writer of "Les Mémoires de Grammont" and of "La Belle Hamilton" of Charles the Second's Court. He was a Romanist, and had

The King had, as it afterwards appeared, reason enough to disregard Hamilton's opinion; for their general was no sooner taken than the fight ceased altogether on the side of the Irish. They abandoned the field with precipitation; and Count Lauzun, a witness of their panic, forthwith rode up to King James, who was posted with some squadrons of horse on the hill of Dunmore, to represent that if he remained there he would in a short time be surrounded; that it had in truth arrived at the point that His Majesty ought not to hesitate to order a retreat. Accordingly he placed himself under the escort of the regiment of Sarsfield, and quitted the field. Lauzun continued to dispute the ground for some time with intrepidity and perseverance, and, having disposed his troops so as to withdraw with safety, conducted the retreat of the army in very good order. The loss on the side of the Irish was computed at 1500;—that of the English at not above 500; but among the former were Lords Dorgan and Carlingford, Sir Neil O'Neil, and the Marquis d'Hocquincourt; and on the part of the latter, the renowned Marshal Schomberg. Both Kings have been blamed—one for not improving his victory, the other for his precipitate retreat. King James went off as fast as he could to Dublin, where he stayed but one night, and then posted away to Waterford, at which port he took ship for France, and, rejoining the Queen at St. Germain, made no second effort to recover his throne. King William, when he found he had gotten himself the victory, sent off Brigadier General La Meillioniere to invest Drogheda; and on the 3rd Overkirk was despatched, with nine troops of horse, to secure the possession and tranquillity of Dublin.

1690. — Defeat of James, who quits the field.

James returns to France.

commanded as a Brigadier under the White Cockade, when he was made a prisoner at Inniskillen. Here, however, he accepted his liberty, with a commission from William to enter into negotiation with Ormond, when, with singular bad faith, instead of returning to London, he entered again into the ex-King's service.

1690. These were followed by the Dutch guards, who gained admission into the Castle. William encamped on the 5th at Finglas, within two miles of Dublin, where he learnt that his rival had fled the kingdom, and that there was not an enemy in arms within twenty-six miles of the capital.

The King had intended to have returned to England directly; but he received letters from his Queen so assuring as to the posture of affairs there, that he remained to put things in order where he was. He issued an ample declaration of pardon to those who would return to their allegiance, and then marched away with his army to the westward. The garrisons of Kilkenny, Waterford, and Duncannon capitulated on terms of marching out with their arms and baggage.

William proceeds to reduce Limerick.

The King then proceeded to reduce Limerick, where Monsieur Boisselau commanded as governor, having the Duke of Berwick and Sarsfield in his garrison. On the 8th of August, the King, accompanied by Prince George of Denmark, and Generals Overkirk and De Ginkel, went to view the avenues to the town, and the posture of affairs. On the 9th the town was summoned; but the usual answer being returned, orders were given for its investment by the entire army; and 200 horse, with 1000 chosen foot, made their approaches in good order. The country being much intersected with hedges and ditches, the pioneers had some trouble in preparing the way; and within half-a-mile of the town, at a narrow pass between two bogs, stood the Irish horse, on the right and left of whom the hedges were lined with musketeers. The King immediately ordered up some field-pieces, which covered the cavalry, and opened over them with such good success that the enemy was driven in, and two very advantageous posts for the siege, one of which was called Cromwell's Fort, were taken possession of: the other had the history of having been an old Danish post; and the Danish troops were not a little proud to

have it given into their keeping. Four guns were soon placed on the former, and opened on the city. 1690.

The King set up his tent within the distance of a mile; and the guns now playing from both sides, many shot fell near it, or passed over it. Before the investment could be completed, Colonel Sarsfield, with a body of cavalry, crossed the Shannon in the night, and intercepted some of the English artillery on its way to the camp, and disabled it, but could not carry it away. The trenches were opened on the 17th, and batteries were raised, which soon dismounted some of the guns on the ramparts. Accordingly an assault was ordered to get a lodgment in the covered way above the counterscarp; but the assailants met with such a warm reception from the besieged, that they were repulsed with the loss of 1200 men. On the other hand, an outwork was taken on the 20th; and on the 21st the trenches were secured against any more sorties. Bombs, carcases, and red-hot shot, were freely thrown into the place; and on the 25th, thirty breaching guns opened within thirty paces of the ditch. But ball soon began to fail, and the King ordered the engineers to render the breach practicable by mines. An assault was ordered on the 29th, and lasted from three o'clock in the morning till seven, when, after losing some 600 killed and many wounded, the English troops were driven away from the breach by the Irish, their women assisting the defenders by pelting the assailants with stones, broken bottles, and every conceivable missile.

The besieged successfully repulse the assaults of William.

This disappointment, and the breaking up of the weather induced William to raise the siege on the 30th August. The cannon were withdrawn from the batteries, and, with the baggage, sent away; and the day following the army decamped and marched to Clonmel. The Duke of Berwick declares, in his Mémoires, "Le Prince d'Orange publie en Europe que les pluies continuelles en avaient été la cause que le siége soit levé; mais je peux certifier qu'il n'était pas tombé une

The siege of Limerick raised, Aug. 30. William returns to England.

1690. goutte d'eau de plus d'un mois auparavant, et qu'il ne plut pas de trois semaines après." It is indeed most probable that in the month of August there could be little obstacle to campaigning from the weather. The King was, however, disgusted with the failure of the assault, and tired of the campaign; and accordingly, he appointed Lords Justices for the kingdom, and embarked at Duncannon, on the 5th of September. To Count Solms was given the command of the army; until, towards the end of the month, Lord Churchill, now created Earl of Marlborough, arrived in Ireland with 5000 men, and, uniting with the division under the command of the Prince of Wurtemberg, quickly reduced Cork and Kinsale. Ireland was, however, far from being subdued; for Limerick, Athlone, Galway, and other places still held out against King William.

Marlborough appointed to the command, reduces Cork and Kinsale.

1691. The English Parliament having been opened and disposed of, and the affairs of the nation at home having been settled, the King thought of returning to his native country; and on the 6th January, 1691, he embarked for Holland. Here in February he opened a most glorious Congress at the Hague, in order to concert measures for the liberties of Europe against the ambitious designs of the King of France. There assisted at this Congress the Electors of Brandenburg and Bavaria, the Dukes of Lunenberg, Zell, and Wolfenbuttel, with about twenty-five or thirty Princes of the Empire, and some of the most influential Counts and Barons, together with the Imperial Ambassadors, and many foreign ministers. William attended this solemnity with all the state of the King of England, and was attended by the Duke of Norfolk, the Earls of Devonshire, Dorset, Essex, Nottingham, Scarborough, and Selkirk, with the most able of his Dutch Councillors; and in a very pathetical speech he represented to the assembled body "the imminent danger that Europe was exposed to from the unscru-

William visits Holland; and opens a Congress at the Hague.

pulous temper of Louis XIV., and the necessity under which they were not to deliberate, but to act: for that it was not the barren resolution of a Diet, but soldiers, strong armies, and a sincere and prompt union that must do the work. That for himself he would not spare his credit, nor his forces, nor his person, to concur with them, and was ready to appear in the spring at the head of his troops, and make good his word." The Congress forthwith agreed to employ 220,000 men against France in the ensuing campaign. William also undertook to answer for the Duke of Savoy; and in the name of both England and Holland he guaranteed the expenses and burden of the war. 1691. —

Louis XIV. takes the field, and invests Mons, March 5.

The Congress broke up about the beginning of March; but the French King was so impressed himself with the truth of William's maxim, "That it was a time not to deliberate, but to act," that on the 5th of the same month a detachment of French cavalry had already invested Mons, and Louis XIV. was in his royal person in the field: "pour ainsi dire, à leur barbe les surprendre, et les mortifier sur leur entreprise faite." King William, upon news of this, despatched Prince Waldeck to Hals, near Brussels, where the general rendezvous of the troops was appointed; and he himself followed to the camp there on the 27th March; when he found, indeed, 50,000 men assembled, but, to his grief, the troops very deficient in their equipment. Louis XIV., expected that he should be disturbed by William in his operations, because his army was not sufficient at once to undertake the siege and to cover it: but it may be presumed that His Majesty had good information of the bad condition of the allied army. Although the French had been repulsed with considerable loss on the first attack on the outposts, yet the governor of Mons, under the influence of the local clergy in the city, was induced to comply with the summons; and, to the grief and consternation of the Confederates, this strong fortification of the Netherlands was sur-

Surrender of Mons.

1691. rendered at the end of three weeks. William, either disgusted or necessitated by other causes, quitted the army on the 13th April, and returned to England, where he arrived in time to see the Palace of Whitehall burnt to the ground.

The King remained in England for only a few weeks, in which time he settled the operations of the ensuing campaign in Ireland, where De Ginkel now exercised the supreme command of his army. The King likewise took active measures to man the fleet by pressing sailors; and to the chief command of this he appointed Admiral Russell. There were also some pressing affairs both in Church and State that demanded his attention. But, notwithstanding, he embarked at Harwich on the 2nd May, and set sail for Holland with a fair wind (attended by a fleet under the command of Sir George Rooke), and arrived next day at his palace of La Hague. Some few days afterwards he again placed himself at the head of the Confederate army, having Count Solms, the Earl of Marlborough, the Duke of Ormonde, the Marquis of Winchester, and the Earl of Essex, holding commands under him.

King William goes to the assistance of Waldeck.

Prince Waldeck had got only 18,000 men together to oppose Maréchal Luxembourg, who with 40,000 was marching to surprise Brussels. The King hastened up to the Prince's assistance, with the rest of the army, and checked the design. Maréchal de Boufflers with another army was bombarding Liege; William therefore sent some German troops to the assistance of that city, and obliged Boufflers to draw off from it: and then he tried all possible means to bring his adversaries to a battle; but he could not effect this, for it was clearly the strategy of the French to avoid it. The two armies twice confronted each other, but it was not possible to make the attack either time without manifest disadvantage. The King had two or three narrow escapes of his life in these marches

and countermarches. Once a cannon-shot struck the tree under which he had been standing; and, again, on the 11th August, two carriages belonging to the artillery, each laden with powder and ball, took fire at nine o'clock at night, and nearly caused the explosion of the whole magazine: but the artillery-men, while the fusees of the shells were burning, in the most daring manner disengaged the waggons in which they were packed from the rest, and overturned them down the side of a hill, where they exploded without doing mischief. Had the accident taken a disastrous turn, the King must have perished along with the greater part of the bystanders.

1691. — Narrow escape of the King.

Having thus fruitlessly dared the enemy to fight, and finding the entire country wasted and eaten up through the long continuance of the contending armies upon it, King William made himself master of Beaumont, where he blew up the fortifications, and then marched away towards Ath, where he again quitted the camp for the Palace of Loo, and on the 7th September left the command to Waldeck. This veteran was, however, observed by Luxembourg to march away his troops towards Cambron on the 9th with so much carelessness, that, at about eleven o'clock in the day, fifty-five squadrons of French horse surprised and threw into disorder the rear of the Confederate army, which was commanded by Count Tilly. Overkirk and Opdam quickly came up to his assistance, when the conflict became very fierce. The Dutch infantry, however, soon coming up, the French were forced to retire. 1000 or 1500 men were killed or disabled in this affair, which had no results. The King had enjoyed a little *délassement* at Loo in these latter months of the campaign by the diversion of hunting, of which amusement he had always been very fond. But on the 18th October he finished his season, and embarked to return to England. Detained, however, for a day or two by the contrary wind, he had

Severe action between Waldeck and Luxembourg.

William receives news of the

1691. the satisfaction of receiving on board the Royal Yacht in the Maas the news of the surrender of Limerick, which terminated the Irish war, to the great reputation of his General de Ginkel, who in consequence of this success received the honours of Earl of Athlone and Baron of Aughrim, with a grant of 26,480 acres to support the peerage. The King also knighted Colonel Furnese, the bearer of this good news, and then sailed under the convoy of a squadron commanded by Sir Cloudesley Shovel, who landed him at Margate on the 19th October.

— surrender of Limerick.

1692. The massacre of Glencoe.

Although neither the King nor the Queen of England ought to have been charged with the crime of what is termed "the massacre of Glencoe," which took place in the early part of this year, yet since all Scotchmen devoutly believe it was the King's act, it must not be quite passed over. MacIan of Glencoe was at variance with Campbell of Glen Lyon, whose lands he had plundered during the course of hostilities. The latter chief, in revenge, proposed to the Government that, for the quiet of the kingdom, the clan should be extirpated, with every dependent, by military execution. An order to carry this out appears to have been laid before the King by the Scottish minister, with other documents, demanding the sign manual. That His Majesty might heedlessly have signed this, among other papers, is not improbable, considering the many divers matters that we have seen were pressed upon his constant attention from England, Ireland, the Hague, and the camp; and Macaulay says, "The truth is, that the King attended little to English affairs, and to Scotch business not at all; and there seems to be no reason for blaming him."

Be this as it may, on the 1st February, Campbell of Glen Lyon marched into the valley of Glencoe with a company of soldiers belonging to Argyle's regiment, and quartered himself amongst them for an entire fortnight. MacIan received them hospitably, when, for some

cause never clearly explained, on the night of the 13th, the soldiers fell upon the unhappy people, and barbarously murdered the wife of the chief and thirty-eight men of the clan, subsequently burnt their houses, and carted away their cattle and effects. The helpless widows and children, whose husbands and fathers were thus murdered, were heartlessly left naked and forlorn without food or shelter in the midst of a deep snow in the mountains. The act is perfectly horrible and unjustifiable; but it is, I think, too absurd to believe that a Prince, on whom at this moment all Europe relied for successful resistance to the arrogance of the French King, should have taken any special interest in the petty squabbles of the two Scotch tribes of MacIan and Campbell with a personal rancour that was altogether foreign to his character. Nevertheless the not having punished the destroyers with due vigour remained a grievous blot upon William's character, which had a very ill effect and tended to alienate the Scotch people from his government.

1692.
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King William, having settled the domestic affairs of the British nation, and exerted uncommon care, ability, and energy in equipping a formidable fleet, quitted England on the 5th March, 1692, and repaired to Holland. The Elector of Bavaria had been made Governor of the Low Countries through the influence of William, and had put these Provinces in a far better state of defence than formerly; nevertheless he could not impede the successful progress of the French invasion. Louis took the field in the latter end of May in his accustomed state, and with all the effeminate pomp of an Asiatic potentate. Having reviewed his army, which was under the command of Luxembourg, and now numbered 110,000 men, he undertook the siege of Namur, one of the strongest places of the Netherlands, situated at the confluence of the Meuse and Sambre. William, having brought up his English army of 16,000 men, under General

Louis takes the field, and besieges Namur.

Design against the life of William.

1692. Mackay, had approached Louvain, when he was apprized of a design against his life by one Grandval, who had attempted it the previous year, but was now (when almost upon the commission of the act) arrested by Lord Athlone at Bois-le-duc.

William marches to relieve Namur, and announces the victory off La Hogue.

As soon as King William discovered the King of France's intention, he marched the Confederate army now united under his command—100,000 strong—to Namur. Upon his arrival in front of the enemy, on the 23rd May, he gave him notice of the victory that the British fleet had gained off La Hogue by a triple discharge of 140 pieces of cannon; but Louis XIV. affected to receive this notice of his rival's success with much unconcern, saying, "Here's a mighty stir, indeed, about burning two or three ships."

Movements of Luxembourg and William.

Leaving his Sovereign to carry on the siege with his celebrated engineer Maréchal Vauban, Luxembourg carried forward his covering force of 70,000 men to the Mehaigne, on the opposite banks of which river the adverse armies faced each other on the 8th June.

The rain baffles William's designs.

In order to raise the siege, William resolved on an attack, and ordered the pontoons to be thrown over the stream under cover of some batteries; but the incessant rains had so covered the low lands with water, that a stop was put to the enterprise; and the same cause obliged Luxembourg to withdraw his army to higher grounds. William then sent forty squadrons towards Huy, to attack the besieging forces from that side.

Capture of the town of Namur.

But although the garrison of Namur consisted of 9000 men, under a governor of some repute, the Prince de Brabançon, who knew that the King of England would make strong efforts for its relief, and although he had at his side the celebrated Dutch engineer Coehorn, to direct the defence, yet the town capitulated in seven days after the trenches had been opened against it.

Capture of Fort William.

Fort William is the *capo d'opera* of Coehorn; and Vauban was naturally desirous to test its strength. The Dutch engineer commanded it in person; and

1692.

the garrison, animated by his presence, made an incredible resistance. But he having received a dangerous wound, the besieged thought themselves unable to defend it, and it was surrendered to the French by capitulation[5]. This was meant as an especial honour, and, with commendable courtesy, the captured work was called Fort Coehorn, which name it retains to this day. The citadel, which stands on the opposite bank of the Sambre, was thus left exposed to the approaches of the besiegers, and could not long withstand the energy of their attack; so that, on the 20th May, Prince de Brabançon capitulated, to the unspeakable mortification of King William, who was witness himself of the loss of the most important fortress of the Netherlands, while he was at the head of a powerful army, unable to hazard any thing to save it. This has always, however, been a reflection on His Majesty's strategy, and he has been for this supineness much censured. On the other hand some suspicions have been cast upon the Prince de Brabançon's fidelity, and he was committed prisoner to the citadel of Antwerp till the Spanish Court could be satisfied as to the justification of his conduct in the siege, in giving up so strong a fortress in so short a time.

Surrender of the Citadel, May 20.

Louis XIV. having contented himself with the glory of this capture, marched away to Versailles with his ladies and his parasites. There his poets[6] and his artists flattered him with all sorts of adulation, setting forth his actions with a pomp that is better suited to a Persian conqueror than to the more stubborn stuff of modern triumphs. However Louis XIV. had no taste but for a siege, and hated the fatigue of a campaign, Luxembourg therefore assumed the command, and pitched his camp in an advantageous position between Enghien and Steenkirk, behind the Senne river.

Louis returns to Versailles.

[5] The like, may be, had never before been heard of—that an outwork should have made a special capitulation for itself.

[6] See an "Ode" on this occasion, by Boileau.

1692. William accordingly took up his camp at Lembeck, and his head-quarters at Genappe, and resolved to attack his adversary in order to retrieve his honour, incited thereto more particularly from the information of some persons who were thought to understand the ground. While here encamped, he reviewed his British troops for the satisfaction of the Elector of Bavaria. The fifteen English battalions of the army were two of the First regiments of the Guards and one of the Second, with Churchill's, Trelawney's, Bath's, Hodges', Fitzpatrick's, Carleton's, Earl's, Cutts', and the Prince of Hesse's, with three others. The Scotch infantry consisted of ten battalions, two of the Guards, Douglas's, Mackay's, Graham's, O'Farrel's, Angus's, Leven's and Lauder's. There were also two regiments of British horse,—Colonel Langton's and Lord Galloway's. At this time His Majesty had discovered that one Millevoix, a Secretary of the Elector of Bavaria, had placed himself in the pay of the French, and had given secret intelligence to Maréchal Luxembourg of the movements of his troops. Sending, therefore, for this man, instead of hanging him, he made him sit down and write false intelligence that might put his adversary off his guard.

— William resolves on an attack, and reviews the British army.

Treachery of Millevoix.

On Sunday, July the 24th, at nine o'clock in the morning, the Prince of Wurtemberg, commanding the vanguard of the army, advanced to the attack of the French right-wing at the head of ten or twelve battalions of English, Danish, and Dutch infantry, supported by a considerable body of English cavalry under Lieutenant-General Mackay. The ground was found to be much less practicable than King William had been made to believe; for it was so intersected with hedges, ditches, and narrow defiles, that it was two o'clock in the afternoon before the troops could get up to the attack with their wonted impetuosity. They were formed under cover of two batteries of cannon, which played bravely. The French, taken by surprise, resisted

Battle of Steenkirk, July 24 o.s. or Aug. 4 n.s.

nobly, but were overborne by the unexpected inroad; and they were driven from hedge to hedge, lost their guns, and their whole camp was thrown into confusion: however they had cut the gun-traces, and taken away their horses; so that the guns were recovered. 1692.

Bravery of the French Guards.

Luxembourg, who happened to be on the spot, was unwell at the time, but as was his wont contended with the infirmity, and threw all his energies into the struggle. He at once changed front and re-established his right wing. Then he called up his Guards, termed "la troupe dorée," in which were the Dukes of Chartres (afterwards the Regent Orleans), Bourbon, and Vendôme, with the Prince de Conti, and others; these high-born men found themselves exposed to the fire of two batteries placed right and left over against the head of their column, against which they pushed forward, overcoming every obstacle that the Prince of Wurtemberg could throw in their way; so that His Highness was obliged to send for more assistance; and the King ordered Count Solms, by two successive messengers, to send up more foot to his aid: but that general ordered up horse instead of infantry, who, from the nature of the ground, could do nothing. William, however, repaired the fault as quickly as he could; and the soldiers were so eager to follow their royal leader, that, in order to give a helping hand to their comrades, they broke their ranks in following him, and more time was subsequently lost in reforming than could well be spared. When at length they reached the wood, they found the vanguard already overpowered by thirty French battalions, while, at the same moment, Maréchal de Boufflers hearing the firing came up unexpectedly with a large body of dragoons, which obliged the infantry to endeavour to seek the protection of the wood, which they failed to obtain, and consequently they were driven to retreat in great confusion. The King was so enraged at the conduct of Count Solms, on seeing his vanguard crushed for want of timely relief, that he

Timely arrival of De Boufflers.

1692. exclaimed, "O my poor English, how you have been abandoned!" and he would not admit the general to his presence for several days. Night now approached, and the King commanded a general retreat. But Luxembourg, judging that the object he had gained was sufficient, and that to attempt to pursue would be to lose many men and to jeopardize his victory, did not follow up his advantage. The fight had lasted only two hours; and 7000 bodies already covered the field of battle. The Confederates and the French both lost many leaders of high distinction; but there were no great trophies of the day to the conquerors. The King, after the battle, ordered Millevoix to be hanged on a tree in front of the right wing of His Majesty's army, as a punishment for his treachery.

Retreat of the King.

Execution of Millevoix.

After the battle of Steenkirk, King William carried his army forward as far as Enghien; but the French had quitted their camp with great secrecy, and without beat of drum; which showed that, notwithstanding their victory, they had no mind for a second encounter. The Confederates, not being able to overtake their enemy's rear, returned to Halle, and from thence to Ninove, behind the Dender. In August a reinforcement from England, under the Duke of Leinster, arrived at Ostend with fifteen battalions. They consisted of Selwyn's, Beaumont's, Hastings', Collier's, Tiffeng's, Westmeath's, Brewer's, Venner's, Morgan's, Lloyd's, Beveridge's, Argyle's, La Meloniere's, Belcastel's, and Cambon's. The King sent a detachment of ten battalions and cannon under General Tollemache out of his camp to unite with them; and after their union they marched against Furnes and Dixmunde, both which places they took possession of, and thence made a demonstration against Dunkirk. Count Horn, the master of the Dutch artillery, was directed to invest this fortress; and the Dutch general laid the country round under grievous contributions with the apparent object of a siege, but did nothing of the kind,

Reinforcement from England.

which very much dissatisfied the English contingent, who, as usual on all first arrivals into danger, desired to see a little more earnest of service and bravery: but, upon the first show of French troops, Horn considered the enterprise so dangerous, that it was laid aside at once, and, raising his camp, he immediately abandoned Dixmunde, and sent back the battering cannon to the King at Grammont. All the English and Scotch battalions that were to winter in the country under Tollemache were cantoned in the villages about Bruges, the Lieutenant-General taking up his head-quarters in the Abbey of St. Andrew. 1692. —

After this, on the 26th September, King William quitted his army, leaving it under the command of the Elector of Bavaria, and repaired to his palace at Loo, for the diversion of hunting; and the camp being broken up, the infantry marched away to Marienkirke, and the cavalry to Caure. On the 16th October, however, the King was induced to return to Brussels, for he had heard that Boufflers had invested Charleroi, and that Luxembourg had taken post in Condé. He then held a Council of War, when it was resolved that the Confederate army should be re-assembled and moved to the relief of Charleroi. On its approach Boufflers raised the siege, and the French army went into winter quarters[7]. King William, in the meanwhile, returned to Holland, and, embarking on board the Royal yacht, and escorted by the fleet under Sir Cloudesley Shovel, landed at Yarmouth on the 18th.

William marches to the relief of Charleroi; Boufflers raises the siege.

William returns to England.

It does not appear that King William ever really enjoyed himself in England. His disposition was altogether uncongenial to the English, except when they worked together in a campaign, when he liked

Uncongenial disposition of William.

[7] To excite the zeal of his generals, Louis XIV. now made a new creation of Marshals, which included the distinguished names of De Tourville, De Boufflers, and De Catenat. He likewise at this time founded the military "Order of St. Louis," which in some things prefigured the "Legion of Honour."

1692. their courage, and valued their constancy. But he could never enter into the English disputes of Whig and Tory, was offended by the quarrels of his Queen and her sister, and was cold and reserved towards all his *entourage*, never taking pains to oblige people, and never seeming happy to receive them. He lived very much to himself, at Kensington Palace, attended by two or three Dutch friends, where he buried himself in Continental politics. Less than all else had he the disposition to take any interest in the religious disputations of the time. He had once, while awaiting the assembling of the Convention, taken the Sacrament with the Church of England; but he disliked this act, as well as the other forms of the Establishment, and manifested no interest in that or any ot' r form of worship. The King, therefore, left the matters of the Church wholly in the Queen's hands, which she managed with strict and religious prudence. William always had his hands full with his ministry. He made Somers at this time Lord Chancellor, and Trenchard Secretary of State; while he entrusted the concerns of the Treasury to Montague, who had begun to make a figure in the kingdom.

In military matters, however, he showed equal judgment by increasing the amount of his artillery,—a forecast of modern warfare that is now of acknowledged importance. King William was always, however, ready to mount his war-horse, and to exchange the pen for the sword; so that on the 25th March he was at Harwich, ready to embark. The wind was said to be adverse; but we learn the truth from Dangeau's Memoirs, that he had other reasons for delay, in that he had received information that a French squadron, under Jean Bart, was waiting to intercept him on the passage; so that he returned to Kensington, and there remained till the 31st, when he embarked on board "The Mary," attended by a squadron of war, that had been largely reinforced, under Admiral Mit-

1693. William goes to Harwich, but delays his embarkation for a short time.

1693.

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William arrives at the Hague.

chell; and making his passage in safety, he arrived on the 2nd April at the Hague, where he had affairs of consequence to transact with the States-General before he proceeded to the army. It was needful before the opening of the campaign to confer with the Plenipotentiaries of his allies, and to settle with them the most effectual mode of employing the forces they could collect for the ensuing year. He here received intelligence that the King of France had a design upon Barcelona, and His Majesty accordingly sent orders to the English fleet under Russell, to go to sea with ninety ships of the line, in order to prevent the junction of the Brest and Toulon fleets for that enterprize.

Formidable preparations of the French King.

The French King now entered on that which he himself termed "Campagne de décision et de crise." He prepared for the conquest of the Netherlands two powerful armies, which were to be commanded, under himself and the Dauphin, by the four Marshals of France,—Luxembourg, Boufflers, Joyeuse, and Villeroy. Luxembourg had under him seventy-eight battalions, and 161 squadrons; Boufflers fifty-two battalions, and 117 squadrons, that is to say, 78,000 foot, and 41,700 horse. The King of England had only 38,200 infantry, and 22,650 horse: or, in sums total, the French had 119,700 against the Confederates' 60,850 effectives. The French King had never assembled so numerous an army as this in Flanders. His Majesty left Versailles on the 5th May, took up his head-quarters at Herlaymont-Capelle, between Mons and Charleroi on the 26th. It was necessary for King William to consider well how he might best oppose forces that exceeded his own by nearly one-half, and he selected a position at Parcke, near Louvain, where with much diligence he fortified himself; and, having strengthened it with earth-works, he set himself to thwart the French king's designs, which he concluded to be upon Brabant. Louis XIV. never could endure the tedium of manœuvring, and he therefore deter-

1693. mined to test his adversary's resolution to maintain his post. The entire French army was accordingly thrown forward to march against the Confederate camp in one day—a march so long at such a season that a great many of his soldiers were killed through the fatigue of it. But King William evinced no disposition to move; and accordingly it became a trial of skill between the two armies which should continue longest at its post. At length Louis XIV., feeling himself obliged to send the separate army of Boufflers into Germany, returned with all his following to Versailles, and left Luxembourg to deal with the Confederate army as he might[8]. On the departure of the French king, Luxembourg took up his camp at Meldert, near Charleroi, from whence the garrison very much disturbed his convoys; and he had no nearer base than Namur from whence to obtain provisions and supplies of every kind. His object was to exhaust those of the King, to force him to leave the camp at Pareke. At length, on the 15th July, the French fell back to Helisheim, on their way to the banks of the Meuse.

Inaction of the two armies. Louis returns to Versailles.

William forces the French lines between the Scheldt and the Lys, July 8.

William had sent twenty-five battalions and forty squadrons, under the Prince of Wurtemberg, to force the lines that the French had thrown up between the Scheldt and the Lys. This was a work which the French had made in the former year to cover the country they had conquered from insult from the foragers of the enemy. Lieutenant General de la Vallette, with twelve battalions and twenty-four squadrons, garrisoned the above lines, which were fortified with good redans and redoubts, all palisaded, and having the river of Espiers running

[8] S. Simon relates that the Marshal actually threw himself on his knees before Louis XIV., to implore His Majesty not to quit the army, and lose the opportunity that so favourably presented itself of crushing his resolute enemy, and William himself thought his hour was come, as may be seen in the correspondence of the Grand Pensionary Heinsius.

along their front. The Prince of Wurtemberg made his attack on the 8th July. Lord Castleton on the right, Lord Argyle in the centre, and Lord Bath on the left. The last, which was exclusively composed of English, succeeded first in entering the lines. De la Vallette was forced out of the post, and the peasantry were brought in, upon requisition, to level the entire lines, and a contribution of several millions was immediately levied on the district they were intended to protect. It was expected that this success would influence Luxembourg's movements: but, on the contrary, he took no notice of it. The French Marshal however received information that a reinforcement under Count Tilly was on march to join the king; and accordingly he detached a force to hinder the junction, which surprised the Count, on the 14th, in a hollow way through which he was, marching, and forced him to fall back on Maastricht, leaving 200 men and all his baggage on the field. 1693. —

Luxembourg invested on the 9th the small fortress of Huy, which obliged the King to carry his army off to Liege, with the design of raising the siege or offering battle; but he had marched no further than Tongres, when he heard that Huy had surrendered on the 23rd. The King accordingly sent ten battalions to hold Liege, and encamped his army near Neerhespen, or Neerwinden, behind the Geet, while Luxembourg advanced as if to lay siege to Liege. But Luxembourg, seeing that the King had weakened his army so much by detaching the Prince of Wurtemberg and strengthening the garrisons at Liege and Maastricht, calculated on being 30,000 men stronger than his adversary, and thought it was an advantage not to be lost. Accordingly he suddenly turned to march on Landen, to attack the Confederate army. As soon as the King had notice of the enemy's approach, he got on horseback, accompanied by the Elector of Bavaria and the chief officers of his army. He saw immediately that the design was to attack him in his camp, and

Luxembourg captures Huy.

Luxembourg resolves to attack William in his camp.

1693. that he must make the best advantage of the ground he had. His right extended from Heylissen on the right to Wanghe on the river Geet, where the Elector commanded the left wing, his horse being as far off as Dormael upon the brook of Beck. The front was partially covered by the brook, and broken by several hedgerows and covered ways, and defended by many earth-works. The French Maréchal marched with so much alacrity that he outmarched his infantry, and arrived with all his cavalry in front of the King on the 28th July.

At sunrise on the 29th, the French army, having come up, possessed themselves of the high ground between Landen upon their right (where the Marquis de Crequi commanded), towards Leau, or Leve, on their right. The reserve was posted at Oberwinden, under the Chevalier de Bizons. As soon as the King saw this disposition, he ordered Brigadier Ramsey, with the regiments of O'Farrel, Mackay, Lauder, Leven, and Monro, to take post to the right of the village of Laer. Prince Charles of Brandenburg and General Dumont commanded the German contingents that were to defend the village of Neerwinden. These troops had as a reserve the first battalion of the Foot Guards, and the second battalion of the Scots' Guards. He advanced his left to Neer Landen, where he posted the Royal, Churchill's, Selwyn's, and Trelawney's regiments, with some Danes and Dutch to defend the passage of the brook of Beck. The ground being open between the two villages of Neerwinden and Neer Landen, the King ordered it to be entrenched; and what remained of foot was drawn up inside the works, to defend the ground. The Cavalry were all posted from Dormael, along the valley of the Beck. When Luxembourg recognized these arrangements, he said, "Now I believe Waldeck is dead," alluding to the fame of that general for entrenching. About six o'clock Luxembourg ordered the attack upon Laer and Neerwinden (which

Battle of Neerwinden, July 29.

was the right of William's position), with a commanding force, while he sent to the other flank only force enough to restrain and keep the Elector occupied, whose flank was covered with a defile difficult to get across. The Confederate cannon played heavily upon the advance, which the French sustained with great resolution, while the whole of their cavalry threatened the King's front. The Duke of Berwick led the column against Neerwinden, and was received so warmly that his men gave way, and he was in the act of rallying his men when Brigadier Churchill, (who was his uncle) saw him with a single aide-de-camp, and made him prisoner. He was carried forthwith to the King, who ordered him to be conveyed to Leau[9]. The French sent down reinforcements to obtain possession of the villages of Laer and Neerwinden, and the fire was very smart on both sides; but although they gained and lost their post more than once, yet, after about two hours' fighting, they were entirely beaten off, and pursued quite into the plain.

1693. —

Berwick taken prisoner by his uncle Marlborough.

Luxembourg now ordered the Prince de Conti, with the best Foot in the French army, to attempt the attack of the defile of Neer Landen. The Royals and Selwyn's regiments, although exhausted with their efforts in defence of it, were now encouraged by the King's presence, who ordered a house to be set on fire and some trees to be felled to strengthen their defences; and after a dispute of about two hours, the enemy was entirely beaten off, and attempted that place no more, because the ground was difficult and stubbornly defended. A strong body of horse under

[9] There was a natural bitterness between the parties, so that when Berwick was brought before William, His Majesty said to him, "I suspect that in an hour or two Luxembourg will repent his having attacked me." To which the Duke replied, "Perhaps in less time your Majesty will regret your having accepted his attack."

1693. Maréchal Villeroy was making its way to the plain, when the Bavarian cuirassiers, under Count d'Arco, fell upon them with so much vigour, that they were repulsed, and the Duke de Chartres was near being made prisoner. Hitherto the success of the day was visibly on the side of the Confederates; but Luxembourg, having still his reserve fresh and unengaged, resolved to make another attempt on the King's right at Laer and Neerwinden. Here Brigadier Ramsey had still five battalions besides those of Churchill and Trelawney, which the King had sent in from Neer Landen to reinforce him. The renewed attack was made with astonishing vigour. Luxembourg, exclaiming "Souvenez-vous de la gloire de la France," led forward the French and Swiss Guard to the attack, and so shook their antagonists that the brigade of English Guards was broken, but were rallied again by their leaders after the loss of a great many officers and soldiers, and at length repulsed the attack. But the Duke de Bourbon, with the brigade of Guiche, again restored the fight, and the Dutch and Scotch Guards, having exhausted all their ammunition, were no longer able to maintain their ground. The King himself led forward the English battalions twice up to the right of the entrenchment, where they fought with great bravery and partially forced it. In the mean time Luxembourg had discovered a passage for his horse between the post maintained by the King and the plain; and, coming up himself with the carbineers between the villages of Neerwinden and Laer, he fell upon the Hanover horse which had been brought up to resist them, and overwhelmed them, while part of the French second line of horse came in upon the left along the hedges of Laer. The Marquis d'Harcourt, who had been sent up with twenty-two squadrons from Huy, joined the Marshal at the opportune moment, and, making some of his dragoons dismount, caused them to chase the infantry out of the village of

Laer. After the Hanover horse had been broken, the rest of the Confederate cavalry were soon overthrown. The Elector of Bavaria did all he could to make a stand against the increasing multitude of the French horse, and the King brought up the English horse to his support, and charged himself at the head of Lord Galway's regiment; but Luxembourg had yet another body of horse under the Duke d'Elbeuf, who fell upon the Dutch horse, to assist whom Colonel Windham charged several times. But the disorder that now reigned in the Confederate ranks exceeded all belief, and the King was totally unable to rally it, nor his officers, who fell one after another in the attempt. Colonel Langston was made prisoner, and the Duke of Ormonde had his horse shot under him, and narrowly escaped capture. 1693. —

The King, seeing the battle lost, ordered his right wing to retreat to Dormal; which was effected amidst great confusion and disorder; for the Confederates, being hard pressed, reached the bridge of Neerhespen with difficulty, many throwing themselves into the river Geete to escape from the enemy. The baggage, having been marched to the rear on the night previous to the battle, was saved; but sixty guns and nine mortars fell into the hands of the French. The battle of Neerwinden was one of the most bloody and least decisive of the whole war. The victors lost 8000 men, and the Confederates as many, if not more; but Tollemache brought off the English foot with great prudence, bravery, and success, so that the King's army was in a few days as strong as ever. King William was in this battle to be seen every where, acting as well the part of a private soldier as of a General. He had supported the whole action with so much courage and so true a judgment, that he was thought to have gained more personal honour to himself than in his triumph on the Boyne. He charged several times at the head of the troops, and was ever in the midst of danger. Many were

The King orders a retreat.

Bravery and distinguished conduct of King William.

1693. struck about him; and he himself received no less than three musket shots,—one through his peruke, that deafened him, another through the sleeve of his coat, and another that carried off the knot of his scarf, and left a small contusion in his side. His conduct gained for him so much respect from his enemies, that it was a saying among them, "that it only wanted such a king to make any nation masters of Christendom:" and in an intercepted letter of the Prince de Conti, the writer remarks, "I saw the King exposing himself to the greatest dangers: and surely so much valour well deserves the peaceable possession of the Crown he wears." Indeed Louis XIV. himself is reported to have said, that "King William's behaviour was like Maréchal Turenne's."

— Tributes to the bravery of William from his

As soon as Luxembourg was master of the Confederate camp, he ordered the captured cannon to be formed up, and fired in honour of his victory. But the defeated army was still within hearing, for the King, with characteristic coolness, only carried his army across the Geete, and took up his headquarters at Tirlemont; for he found his army in a better condition than he expected, and had learnt that the French were not in a condition to do him any harm. Accordingly both armies marched at their ease towards Vilvorde. The rest of the campaign passed over without any other action. King William soon quitted his army; and Luxembourg, being reinforced by a detachment sent him from the Rhine by Boufflers, sat down before Charleroi on the 10th September. The place was attacked under all the skill of Vauban, who promised to put it into his hands within fifteen days of opening the trenches; but the garrison made such a vigorous resistance that, though they had little or no prospect of relief, yet they held out for six and twenty days, and then made an honourable capitulation. The fortress is of considerable strength, and of great importance, as commanding the best passage across the Sambre; but the country all

Luxembourg besieges and captures Charleroi, Oct. 1.

around it had been so eaten up that it was not possible to find subsistence for any army that could have been sufficient to relieve it. The besiegers tried to take it by assault, but were repulsed, and capitulated on the 1st October.

1693. —

William places his army in winter quarters, and returns to England. Nov. 9.

King William had, it is certain, been thwarted in his object; and therefore, after giving orders that Dixmunde, Deynse, Ninove, and Tirlemont, should be prepared for the winter quarters of the army, he quitted the camp, and, having spent a few days in the diversions of Loo, repaired to the Hague, where he settled some foreign affairs, and, embarking for England, landed at Margate on the 9th November: the Queen went to meet him at Rochester on the 12th, and they travelled together to Kensington Palace.

William opens Parliament.

William had now to play the part of a Constitutional King, and opened his Parliament on the 13th November, when His Majesty plainly saw the necessity of changing both his measures and his ministry. It was said the true cause that brought the King to a change of councils was, that the Tories had too plainly signified that they would carry on the war no longer, and that the King must accept of such a peace as could be got. This was a thing most obnoxious in the sight of the warlike King, and most contrary to his notions and designs. He therefore turned to the other party, gave his full confidence to the Earl of Sunderland, made Shrewsbury a Duke, and gave him the seals of Secretary of State, while he named Russell the commander of the fleet. So the Whigs were again in favour, and every thing was done that was likely to put them into good-humour. The supplies demanded, amounting to four millions, were all readily granted.

William forms a Whig Ministry.

1694.

William returns to Holland, May 6.

The affairs in Parliament had drawn the Session to such a length, that the King could not leave England sooner than the 6th May, when he set sail for Holland, attended by eight Dutch men-of-war, and reached the Hague on the 7th, at midnight. He repaired next day

1694. to the States-General, and had his conferences with the Plenipotentiaries of his allies, and issued orders for his army to prepare itself to take the field. The King had sent eight fresh battalions from England, which were quartered at Ostend and Nieuport; and he had promoted Brigadiers Churchill and Ramsey to be Major-Generals, and Colonels Fitzpatrick and O'Farrel to be Brigadiers, while Count Nassau was constituted Lieutenant-General; and many other Dutch and foreign officers were included in these promotions. Lieutenant-General Tollemache had been recalled out of Flanders, and sent on a disastrous conjoint expedition against Brest, where he landed at Camaret Bay, and was killed.

Positions of the French army.

The French army this year was under the command of the Dauphin in person; but Maréchal Luxembourg was the responsible officer. The army lay with its right at St. Trond,—where the Dauphin had his head-quarters,—and its left at Warrenne; Maréchal Boufflers, with his army, covering Namur and Huy, behind the Mehaigne, and communicating with the Dauphin's army at Warrenne. The Marquis d'Harcourt commanded a corps of cavalry in the Pays de Luxembourg; and the Marquis de la Valette had a flying detachment of seventeen squadrons and ten battalions between Courtray and the Harebeke, to scour the country between the Lys and the Scheldt. The entire French force that had thus taken the field was 64,200 foot and 27,120 horse, counting in all 91,320 fighting men.

Strength and position of the Confederate army at Mont St. André.

The Confederate army, encamped at Mont St. André, consisted of 31,800 horse and 51,000 foot, or 88,800 fighting men: but to this must be added the flying detachment of about 7000 men under Count de Merode Thun, principally composed of Spaniards and Walloons. The King was very alert in reviewing his troops, and in personally inspecting the posts all through the month of June, and ordering *épaulements* to be thrown up wherever the line appeared weak. On the 1st, the

Dauphin made a slight change of his cantonments, giving out that he designed to besiege either Liege or Maastricht. The head-quarters were removed to Heule, and the line was drawn back to rest its right on Tongeren; while great preparations of bombs, battering pieces, and siege material, were made at Huy. Cannon, and mortars, and pontoons, were with some ostentation brought up to their camp, and foraging parties were carried forward to the very outworks of Maastricht. The King therefore marched his army forward, and it moved in several columns, crossing the Geet between Tirlemont and Jodoigne. The Elector of Bavaria moved his forces the same day from his camp at Neér-Ysche. The right of his army rested upon the Upper Mehaigne; and the left stretched out beyond the villages of Marline and Molembeck, where all the cavalry was posted. The artillery consisted of some 130 or 140 cannon, with about 1000 gunners. These were disposed at the head of the several brigades of foot, with stores and bombardiers proportionate.

1694. — Movements and counter movements of the two armies.

On a height near Ramillies, which commanded the road to Huy, and lay about the centre of the position, a strong entrenchment was formed, and armed with many pieces. On this, the French took up new ground, placing their head-quarters at Vignemont, and throwing up earthworks between the approach to Huy and the river Jaar. The general effect of these manœuvres was favourable to the King. Although he had not yet quitted Mont St. André, he forced the French to seek for supplies from the country on the other side of the Meuse; and, by detaching the Count de Nassau to the Abbey of Boness on his right, and by ordering the forces that were encamped within the lines at Liege to march out, and form a camp outside, he was enabled to molest the enemy in their forages on every side. The King had an ulterior object in his endeavour to bring both armies

1694. to a narrow remanet of forage in this part of Brabant, so that, if he should be obliged to withdraw into Flanders, the enemy might be hindered from falling upon Liege and Maastricht.

King William marches towards the Scheldt.

The country was, in fact, already become so bare, from the protracted residence of two armies upon it, that on the 8th August the King took the initiative, and marched away towards the Scheldt by way of Sombref, Nivelles, Soignies, Ath, and Oudenarde. The French army followed the movements of the Confederates, marching up the Meuse to Namur, and thence by Charleroi and Mons to Hautem, at which place and Condé the enemy also crossed the river, and joined M. de la Valette, at Courtray. Whatever might have been the object of the King, and although he had got the start of his adversary, yet he could not altogether anticipate the French, who were so much on the alert that they had collected their army between the Scheldt and the Lys before the Confederates could effect their passage of the former river. Louis XIV. was so pleased with the result of this manœuvre that he wrote a letter, which he ordered to be read before the whole army, returning his thanks to all, regiment by regiment, for their zeal and incredible diligence.

Rapid march of the French army.

Letter of thanks to the army from Louis.

The King having now brought the French into West Flanders, they began to entrench themselves there, in order to cover Courtray, Ypres, Menin, Furnes, and Dunkirk. The Confederates also dispensed with their tents, and made huts of straw, of which they found great abundance, for no army had encamped here for some years. But while both armies thus anticipated the ease of winter quarters, the King desired the Duke of Holstein, who commanded the army of the States, to undertake the siege of Huy; and Major-General Coehorn was sent to Liege to collect the material for the work. On the 5th September the trenches were begun before the place; but the magistrates came into the camp of the besiegers,

King William besieges Huy, and completes the capture, Sept. 17.

and made terms for themselves; while the siege of the castle and forts was continued. On the 14th the forts Rouge and Picard were assaulted and carried; and on the 17th the garrison of the castle beat the chamade and capitulated. 1694. —

On the 8th the Dauphin had already quitted the French camp, and returned to the recreation of Versailles; so that on the 20th the King also quitted the camp at Rosselaur, or Roulus, and proceeded to the Loo, and thence to England. On the 26th of September the Elector of Bavaria likewise went to establish himself for the winter at Brussels; and on the 15th October Maréchals de Luxembourg and de Villeroy returned to the Court. Thus the command of the French army was left to Maréchal de Boufflers, and that of the Confederate army to the Duke of Holstein.

Illness of Queen Mary.

On the 20th December the Queen was taken seriously ill; and, when warned of her approaching end, she said "she thanked God she had always borne in mind that nothing should be left to the last hour." Her malady proved to be the small-pox. She received the Sacrament; and when this was over she composed herself to die, continuing to the last minute of her life in the same calm and religious state. She breathed her last between night and morning of the 28th December, O. S. (January, 7, 1695). The King was so overcome, that he fell into a fainting fit, from which he did not recover for half-an-hour: and this was succeeded by three or four more; so that it was even thought he would die first. He had never quitted his wife from the moment he heard that she was in danger, and braved the contagion, although it had been a fatal disease in his own family. He had remained day and night near her bedside, on a little camp-bed that had served him in his campaigns, but he scarcely laid down on it, and never closed his eyes, from which the tears flowed unchecked, to the wonder of many old

Her death, Dec. 28, O. S.

1695. soldiers, who had witnessed the serene fortitude of the hero on the disastrous field of Landen. So strange was such a weakness in the man, that the Dutch Envoy, at the sight of his misery, wrote that it was enough to melt the hardest heart. The Queen was in her thirty-third year. The King and the two Houses attended the body to the grave. This was most unusual, because the death of the Sovereign at that period immediately dissolved the Parliament by Law. But after some discussion on the law of the case, the ceremony took place on the 5th March; for it was ruled that the Statute which had put the administration entirely in the King, had rendered this precedent inapplicable. But the Lord Chancellor had had the precaution to cause the Great Seal to be broken the night the Queen expired, and another to be made forthwith, having the effigy of the King alone on the obverse.

The King, after the death of his consort, was reconciled to her sister, the Princess Anne, after a fashion. He assigned her apartments in the Palace, and made over to her the Queen's jewels; but although at the time she was the rightful heir to the throne, His Majesty never admitted her to any share of business, nor did he allow his minister to wait upon her, or to show her any of the respect due to her exalted position.

King William, having taken such steps as were deemed necessary for preserving the peace of England in his absence, went, on the 12th May, 1695, on board the "William and Mary" yacht, attended by many persons of quality, and was received at the Hague, with every demonstration of attachment and with loud acclamations of joy, on the 14th. His Majesty was fully determined to make some great effort in the Netherlands that might elevate his military reputation, and to humble the power of France, which he had many reasons to satisfy himself was on the decline.

William arrives at the Hague, May 14.

Before taking the field, therefore, he gave directions for the setting up and storing of great magazines in several places, and ordered two armies to be organized for active operations, with a view of keeping the enemy in awe on all sides. His most formidable antagonist, the Maréchal Duke of Luxembourg, had died in January of this same year; and his place was but ill supplied by Maréchal Villeroy, who was appointed to the command of the French army in Flanders; while Maréchal de Boufflers headed the detached force which lay encamped about the Sambre. Louis XIV. ordered a strong line of entrenchments to be thrown up between the Lys and the Scheldt, and laid injunctions on his Generals to act solely on the defensive. King William likewise set two distinct armies in the field. One of the two armies of the Confederates, consisting of seventy battalions and eighty-two squadrons, was encamped at Aerseele, near Deynse, commanded by the King in person, having the Prince de Vaudemont with him. The other army, consisting of sixteen battalions of foot and 130 squadrons of horse, was to be headed by the Elector of Bavaria and the Duke of Holstein, and lay near Zellick, on the road from Brussels to Dendermonde. A flying corps, of twenty battalions and ten squadrons, under the command of Major-General Ellemberg, was to form the reserve of the King's army; and another force, called "the body of the Maese," consisting of twenty-five battalions and seventeen squadrons, principally Brandenburgers, were encamped on the Mehaigne, under Baron Heyden, Lieutenant-General of the Brandenburgers[1].

1695.

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Death of Maréchal Luxembourg.

Villeroy appointed to the chief command of the French in Flanders.

Positions of the French and Confederate armies.

The King of England joined the army in the camp at Aerseele on the 29th May; and, having given orders to the troops to be in readiness to move, he drew the

[1] The number of effective men in the army of the Confederates amounted to 124,700: all the armies in the field for the King of France mustered together about 100,000.

1695.
—
William resolves to invest Namur.

attention of the enemy to the side of Flanders, while he ordered De Heyden to invest Namur. The Maréchal de Villeroy, who, as stated above, commanded the French forces in chief after Luxembourg's death, had placed himself at Liege, between Condé, Tournay, and Aeth, while the rest of the French army with Maréchal de Boufflers, remained encamped about

Maréchal de Boufflers reinforces the garrison of Namur.

the Sambre. This chieftain no sooner heard of Heyden's move than he threw himself into the fortress, before the investment was completed, thus increasing its garrison to 15,000 men. The King established his head-quarters, to superintend the siege, at the Castle of Falise, on the 2nd July; and the Elector of Bavaria lost no time in joining His Majesty in the camp, where the two armies occupied respectively the ground as it was divided by the two rivers; and, on both banks, lines of circumvallation were forthwith thrown up, under the direction of the celebrated Coehorn. Prince Vaudremont, who after the King went away had been left in Flanders to occupy Maréchal de Villeroy, was directed to do his best to fortify his camp to restrain the enemy.

Defiant motto of the French King at Namur.

The French King, after he had, a year or two previous, captured Namur[2], had caused to be inscribed over its principal gate, "Reddi quidem, sed vinci non potest,"—intimating that the fortress might indeed be restored, but not retaken;—a little piece of arrogance that was quickly to be belied, as in the case of almost all such military *dicta;* for the science of attack is under common conditions sure and certain. It was necessary on this occasion to keep

[2] Namur, or Namer, is an ancient fortress situated at the confluence of the Sambre and the Meuse. The old Castle stands on a craggy rock at the very nook above the meeting of the waters. The town itself is upon the Brabant side of the Sambre. The French had taken it in 1692; but it had since been strengthened with several outworks, and was now in the best condition of defence.

more horse in the field than might be usually necessary, 1695.
for convoys, patrols, and to assist in bringing up fascines, and the light supplies to the trenches. Most of the English cavalry, however, was sent away, under the command of the Earl of Athlone, to the plain extending about Fleurus, and between Charleroi and Mons, while the greater part of the English infantry was brought up to take part in the siege. Major-General Ramsay, with Brigadier Fitzpatrick, marched up, on the 21st June, with fourteen battalions, including those of the First Guards, The Royals, and the regiments of Selwyn, Seymour, Collingwood, Lauder, and Sanderson. Major-General Churchill brought in eleven battalions, comprising those of Tidecomb, Courthorp, Belcastel, Maitland, Ferguson, Tiffeney, and Buchan. It was the last day of June before the siege guns arrived to the army. The lines of circumvallation having been finished on the 10th July, the trenches were opened next day, and the heavy cannon, having been brought up while these works were in progress, were already in battery on the 12th to open against the place. Some sallies, which had no success, were made; but it was not till the 18th that a serious conflict ensued between the besiegers and the besieged. On that day, about three o'clock in the afternoon, 1200 or 1300 horse crossed the Maese, and attempted the trenches on the right hand of the bridge, entering an unfinished redoubt; but the Brandenburg horse were sufficient, with the guard of the trenches, to beat them back again with loss.

The besieged make a sally, but are repulsed.

However, the King was not content merely to repulse a sortie, but resolved the same evening to storm the advanced outworks of the fortress. Five battalions of the English and Scotch Guards, under Major-Generals Ramsay and Lord Cutts, supported by six English battalions under Brigadier Fitzpatrick, and eight foreign regiments under Major-General Salisch, were told off for this duty. The

Desperate and successful assault by the Confederates, July 18.

1695. assault was desperate and bloody, and the enemy maintained their ground nobly for two hours; but at last they were forced out of the entrenchments, and pursued to the very gates of the town. The King was, according to his habit on such occasions, a witness of the whole transaction, and could not resist calling the attention of the Elector of Bavaria to the bravery and good order of his men, placing his hand upon His Highness's shoulder, and repeating several times, "See my brave English; see my brave English!" And it must be remembered, to the immortal honour of those noble soldiers, that, without any shelter, they boldly crossed the open ground amidst showers of great and small shot, bombs, and hand-grenades, undeterred by the fearful accompaniment of mines and *fougades*. About 1800 men were the casualties of this first success. The garrison, apprehensive of their further approach on that side, set fire to the suburb, which a good deal disconcerted General Coehorn's designs. The great rains that fell also retarded the siege, and interrupted the approaches. However, on the 27th, the King went down to reconnoitre, and, perceiving that the batteries had made great breaches in two of the bastions, he ordered an assault the same afternoon at five o'clock, to get possession of the counterscarp opposed to them. This was again entrusted to the English and Scotch, under Ramsay and Lord George Hamilton.

The counterscarp taken by assault, July 27.

The valour of the assailants on this occasion is also spoken of as "altogether unprecedented, and almost incredible." But they were supported nobly by the Dutch, who, seeing their comrades in so hot an encounter, vigorously attacked the enemy with their hand-grenades, and very much eased the English by drawing off the fire from them. Nor can it be doubted that the courage of the besieged was worthy of all praise and admiration, as it must be conceded is habitual with the French soldiers under all circumstances. The King, however, had now advanced the

siege to the possession of the counterscarp. Several of the persons who were about William were killed or wounded in this severe encounter, and amongst others, Mr. Godfrey, the Deputy-Governor of the Bank of England, who took part with the assailants, although he had come over about remittances for the payment of the army, but, having had the curiosity to see the operation, was shot dead. All this time the Elector was not idle on his side; he himself directed an attack on the 30th July upon the Abbey of Salfines, of which he possessed himself, and this operation favoured an attack upon Vauban's lines, which was made by the Spanish and Bavarian troops with equal valour and success. They, however, could not maintain the lodgment they had effected upon Fort Coehorn, but were obliged to yield it up. On the 2nd August, the breaches of the body of the place having been pronounced practicable, preparations were made for a general assault; but Count Guiscard, the Governor of the town, demanded to capitulate for the inhabitants, and on the 6th the garrison evacuated the town, and retired into the Castle.

1695. —

The town evacuated, and the garrison retire into the Castle.

During the progress of this siege, Prince Vaudremont and Maréchal de Villeroy had serious passages of arms in the country about the Lys and the Scheldt, and in consequence the Prince thought it prudent to abandon his entrenched camp, and fall back upon Deynse, which he did with so much address, that the King in a letter to His Highness, "owned himself obliged to him, for that he had given greater marks of a General consummate in the art of war, than if he had gained a victory." Vaudremont continued his retreat without any disadvantage till he arrived under the walls of Ghent, when the Prince of Wurtemburg came up with a reinforcement to enable him to stand. The Confederates having left Dixmunde open by this movement, General Montel was ordered to besiege it; but, although it was garrisoned by Major-General Ellem-

Actions between Vaudremont and Villeroy.

Dixmunde and Deynse surrendered to the French.

1695. berg, with a sufficient garrison to have stood out for two or three weeks, it surrendered after thirty-six hours, and Deynse, quickly following the example, was given up by Colonel O'Farrel without firing a shot. Villeroy, having ordered the fortifications of both places to be razed, marched away to Ninove, giving out that he was going to the relief of Namur.

On this the Confederate army decamped from Ghent on the 4th August, and, having been apprised that Louis XIV. had declared his intention of bombarding Brussels whenever he could find the opportunity of revenging the injuries done to St. Malo by the English fleet, and hearing of a considerable number of waggons being on the march at Enghein, laden with bombs and fireworks, Prince Vaudremont suspected the design, and carried his army to Waterloo to defend the approaches to Brussels. But Villeroy continued his march from Ninove upon Anderlecht, and on the 13th wrote a letter to the governor to apprise him of the object for which he approached so near the city. In the meantime the Elector had quitted the army at Namur, and had hastened to the seat of his government. The very evening of his arrival the French fire opened upon Brussels from twenty-five mortar pieces and eighteen cannon, firing red-hot shot. An extensive fire soon burst out in the city; but, owing to the precautions taken by the citizens, its ravages were restrained, and on the 15th the firing was discontinued, and Villeroy, after this silly gasconade, marched away his army to Enghein.

Bombardment of Brussels by the French.

King William, in the meantime, continued the siege of Namur; and, on the 13th, his cannon played from no less than twelve batteries. The enemy did their best to disturb the progress of the siege; but the besiegers' fire at length got the upper hand; and one of the bombs lighting on a magazine, called "The Devil's House," caused by its explosion a most serious

Explosion of a magazine at Namur.

confusion, and killed and wounded many. A report came out of the fortress that Maréchal Boufflers intended to cut his way out of it at the head of his cavalry; but the King, having notice of this, ordered the Guards to be doubled, and placed every where detachments upon the alert wherever the Sambre could be crossed. His Majesty now heard that Villeroy had arrived near Fleurus, and was approaching to raise the siege. Indeed a signal of 90 guns was soon heard, apprising the garrison of their coming. The King, therefore, confiding on the 26th the siege to the Elector, took himself the command of the covering army, and called Prince Vaudremont back in all haste to Massy. Villeroy marched and countermarched from the King to Vaudremont, and from Vaudremont to the King's armies, until William, finding what sort of a man he had to deal with, left him to march about the country while he went back to concert a general assault of the Castle. He summoned Maréchal Boufflers on the 30th, and between one and two o'clock in the morning the batteries were opened upon Fort Coehorn and that called Terra Nova. Lord Cutts, who was a celebrated fire-eater of the time, and had volunteered the duty of an assault, even when it was not his turn, led 300 grenadiers out of the trenches of the second line, and dashed forward to the breach in Fort Terra Nova. They mounted the breach without opposition, for the enemy was not expecting an assault on that side; but, seeing they were not supported, the besieged turned upon them with both infantry and cavalry, and obliged them to make a speedy retreat. Lord Cutts had led with great daring; but, receiving a bad wound in the head that disabled him, he was forced to fall back: but as soon as his wound was dressed, he returned to the assault. With great judgment, he saw the impossibility of reducing the Terra Nova: but observing the Bavarians under Count Rivera engaged in a very hot conflict at the Coehorn,

1695. —

Villeroy marches to the relief of Namur.

Indecisive conduct of Villeroy.

Assaults of Forts Coehorn and Terra Nova, Aug. 30.

Capture of Fort Coehorn.

1695. he resolved to lend them a hand to make good their
— attack.

Having therefore arrived at the spot, and found Rivera killed and the Prince of Holstein, second in command, wounded, while the Bavarian troops had fixed themselves on the work, and were maintaining the post with great obstinacy, Lord Cutts made arrangements for approaching the breach, drove the enemy from the covered way, and, making a lodgment on the rampart, turned the guns of the place upon the besieged, and so made good the capture of this post. The 31st August was wholly spent by the besiegers in perfecting this lodgment, and in preparing for a general assault. But the next day the besieged demanded a cessation of arms to bury their dead; and before the truce was over, the Count de Guiscard came down to the breach, and asked to speak with the Elector; who having responded and mounted the breach, the two conferred on the subject of a capitulation. His Highness extended the truce, in order to receive the King's consent to the proposition; and an adjutant was immediately sent off, who met the King, with Prince Vaudremont, in his coach coming down to the trenches to order the assault. The terms were agreed to the same night, and ratified the next morning by King William and Maréchal de Boufflers. This is said to have been the first capitulation that was ever signed by a Maréchal of France; but it was not the only one that Boufflers was destined to sign. The surrender of the Castle of Namur was notified to the two armies by a triple discharge of all the artillery and "three salvos in a running fire," or what we now term a "feu de joie" along the Confederate lines; which coming to the ears of Maréchal Villeroy, he raised his camp at Gemblours, and crossed the Sambre with great precipitation.

Capitulation of the French ratified by King William and De Boufflers, Sept. 2.

Maréchal Boufflers marched out from Namur at the head of the garrison, saluting the King and the superior

1695. — Arrest of Maréchal de Boufflers.

officers with his sword, and attended by an escort of eighty or ninety dragoons. But as they were riding the top of the hill, Monsieur Dyckefelt, in the name of His Britannic Majesty, arrested the Maréchal, by way of reprisal for the garrisons of Dixmunde and Deynse, whom the French King had made prisoners, contrary to the cartel subsisting, and who had been very ill-treated by their captors. Boufflers was not a little discomposed, and was very much incensed against Dyckefelt, remonstrating on the ground that it was a violation of the laws and customs of war. But it was replied, that the arrest of the Maréchal was out of no disrespect to his person, but the contrary, since the King looked upon him alone as a sufficient caution for 6000 men—the number of the two Confederate garrisons;—and that, moreover, his orders were, to offer him his liberty if he would pass his word that the said garrisons should be sent back, or, failing in this, that the Maréchal would himself return a prisoner within a fortnight. This he refused to accept; and accordingly he was carried off to Maastricht under a guard, while an officer was sent to give the French King an account of what had happened. When the Maréchal subsequently repaired to Versailles after his release, Louis, like a great king, received him with extraordinary demonstrations, presenting him with a large sum of money, and creating him a Duke and Peer of France.

Public thanksgiving for the capture of Namur.

The capture of Namur is reckoned one of the greatest actions of King William's whole military career, and he had the entire credit of the affair; although Coehorn, the engineer, signalized himself greatly in the works of the siege, and was thought to have outdone Vauban himself by the much greater perfection to which he had now carried the art. The news of the capture filled the hearts of all well-wishers of the English King with the greatest joy; and the proper and spirited resentment of William against the unwarrant-

1695. able treatment of the Confederate garrisons was very highly applauded. A day of Public Thanksgiving for His Majesty's success was appointed by Lords Justices of England, and was religiously observed throughout the entire monarchy.

The King quits the army, and arrives in England in October.

The King quitted the army, and gave over its command to the Elector, while he himself repaired to his palace at Loo, for his usual recess for business and diversion. But both armies continued in face of each other till the 25th of September, when they respectively withdrew into quarters. William took but a short respite, but settled with the States General the campaign for the following year, and then embarked in his yacht on the 10th October, and returned to England, escorted by a squadron under Sir Cloudesley Shovel.

1696. Plots against William's life.

Plots, conspiracies, and an invasion occupied the King's attention during the close of 1695 and the beginning of 1696; but these things were successfully detected and frustrated; and the Royal life was saved, to the great joy of the English, as well as to that of the army, who were no sooner apprised that all apprehensions had passed away, than the Prince of Vaudremont and the other Generals bethought themselves of making some attempt by way of revenge against the French King, who was accused of being at the bottom of the whole of them. On the 13th March, a body of infantry was assembled from several garrisons consisting of thirteen battalions, with forty squadrons of horse, and twenty-one pieces of artillery, and placed under the command of the Earl of Athlone, who, accompanied by Coehorn, invested Dinant, and from thence sent a detachment to Givet, where the enemy had laid up a great magazine, the whole of which was burnt, and the town set on fire, on the 16th.

Bombardment of Calais, April 3.

Sir Cloudesley Shovel and Admiral Benbow followed this up on the 3rd April with an expedition against Calais, which was also bombarded and burnt. It was

the 7th May, however, before the King sailed from the Hague, where he arrived to renew the war. On his arrival there he found a French envoy had been sent to the States with proposals to settle the preliminaries of a treaty, Louis having addressed himself to the Dutch, thinking that with their habits of trade and commerce they would sooner hearken to peace than either the Emperor or the King of England. William, however, was resolved to accept no terms without the express acknowledgment of himself as His Majesty the King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland; but it was soon apparent that this proposition was not acceptable to the French King, and that the whole affair was an artifice to divert the war; and, by a show of peace, to make the people of every country who were all tired of the war express an inclination to force the settlement of one.

1696. —

A French Envoy sent to the States.

The French were in the field before the Confederate army could be assembled; but no affairs of consequence distinguished this campaign in Flanders: the scheme of the French King was still defensive in that quarter of the war; and the plans of King William were checked by want of money. The principal affair of the year was the separate peace concluded between Louis XIV. and the Duke of Savoy. King William was encamped at Gemblours when this news reached him. Though he was extremely chagrined at the information, yet he dissembled his anger, and listened to the tidings without any visible emotion. The King, becoming weary of a campaign that afforded him no opportunity of action, quitted the army about the middle of August, and withdrew to his accustomed diversion of his palace at Loo, giving over the command of the army to the Elector. On the 4th October the King went to the Hague, and, embarking in his yacht, crossed to Margate, escorted by a squadron of men-of-war under Admiral Aylmer. A few days after his arrival in London he opened the Parliament, and ac-

Peace between Louis XIV. and the Duke of Savoy.

1697. quainted it that overtures had been made for a negotiation, but that he considered it best to treat with France "with our swords in our hands."

Execution of Sir John Fenwick for treason.

New conspiracies or alarms occupied the winter, 1696--1697, in England, Sir John Fenwick was executed for his share in these alarms; and many noble persons were put on their trial on his information, but were acquitted, or released after short imprisonments: and King William, having made some promotions, and appointed a regency, embarked for Holland on the 26th April, that he might be at hand to manage the negotiations, which had now assumed a practical form.

Negotiations for peace commenced at Ryswick.

After some discussion as to the place of meeting, it was determined that the conferences should be held at a palace belonging to King William, called "Newburgh House," because of a Duke of Newburgh who had laid the first stone when it was building for Frederick Prince of Orange. It was situated near the village of Ryswick, half-way between the Hague and Delft, where there was ample accommodation for all the negotiators and their chancelleries. These had assembled already on the 10th February, and the preliminaries were still under discussion; but the conferences did not open until the 9th May.

The French besiege Aeth, May 16

The French, notwithstanding, had taken the field, and on the 16th laid siege to Aeth; and King William repaired to his army in Brabant, but openly declared that he would not sacrifice one man for the relief of a place which the French King should be obliged to restore. The Confederates, accordingly, left Aeth to its fate, but by a happy diligence prevented the enemy from advancing on Brussels.

Meeting of the Earl of Portland and Maréchal Boufflers.

The negotiators proceeded so slowly in their work, that on the 2nd August King William authorized the Earl of Portland to meet Maréchal Boufflers at Halle, where they mutually signed a paper in which the principal points of dispute between England and France were adjusted in five consecutive meetings held in sight of the two opposing armies;—a

practical illustration of the King's recommendation, to make peace "with their swords in their hands." And next day His Majesty quitted the camp, and withdrew to Loo, confident of having placed the pacification on a footing which perfectly suited himself; for he was anxious to bring to a conclusion a war that offered no advantage to himself beyond the acknowledgment by France of his title to the English crown, which had become more than ever a subject of doubt since the Queen's death. At last, on the 26th September, the Treaty of Ryswick, consisting of seventeen Articles, was signed by the plenipotentiaries of England, Holland, France, and Spain,—a reservation being made for the accession of the Emperor of Germany. William reaped the solid advantage of seeing himself firmly established on the English throne; and the Confederacy accomplished their aim of checking the ambition of Louis XIV.

1696. —

The Treaty of Ryswick signed Sept. 20.

Recognition of William, and check to the ambition of Louis.

The death of the King of Spain in November, 1700, made a new war for the Succession of the Spanish Crown imminent; and the King conscientiously believed that a conjunction of two such powerful monarchies as France and Spain would prove fatal to the liberties of Europe, and that this could be prevented only by a union of all the other European powers. In this view the Parliament agreed with him, and resolved to assist His Majesty in supporting his allies in maintaining the liberty of Europe. In the beginning of July, 1700, King William embarked for Holland, and made a progress to examine the state of the border fortresses and their garrisons: while the States General at his desire repaired the fortifications, augmented their army, and hired auxiliaries for their own defence. After these things His Majesty returned to England on the 4th November.

1700.

Death of the King of Spain.

King William's constitution had begun visibly to fail. He had been detained at the period of his return to England by a severe indisposition, which was concealed as much as possible, because the very news of

Declining health of the King.

1701. his life being in danger would have seriously affected the interests of Europe. He was sensible himself of his declining state, and told Bentinck that he found himself so weak that he could not expect to live another summer, but charged him to say nothing about it till he was dead.

1702. The King falls from his horse, and breaks his collar-bone, Feb. 21.

The King seemed to have attained to a fair way of recovery during the winter 1701—1702, and was much pleased with the noble residence he had made for himself at Hampton Court, where he often rode about the Park. On the 21st February, when riding from Kensington to Hampton Court, cantering along the road, the horse stumbled, and the King, being very feeble, could not save himself, and fell, breaking his collar-bone. His Majesty had the bone set; but, returning in a coach to Kensington, it got displaced, and had to be set a second time. Nevertheless he proceeded in a fair way towards recovery till the 1st March, when a defluxion fell upon the knee. On the 4th, however, he again so far recovered of his lameness that he took several turns in the galleries of the palace; but, finding himself tired and faint, he sat down on a couch, and fell asleep. He awoke with a shivering fit, and it was soon perceived that the hand of death was upon him. He said himself to the Earl of Albemarle, who arrived from Holland on some affairs of business, "Je tire vers ma fin." He thanked his physicians for all that they had done for his relief, but added, "finding all these means ineffectual, I submit." He received the Sacrament from Archbishop Tenison, and went through the Office with great seriousness. It was only the second time that he had communicated according to the Form of the Church of England. He took leave of many friends, civil and military. At length, after nearly losing consciousness, he received the Earl of Portland; but, though his lips were seen to move, his Lordship could hear nothing distinctly articulated, and in a short time the King

Death of King William III., March 8.

expired, in his fifty-second year, having reigned thirteen years. 1702.

His military and political character.

Thus died from an accident on a common road, that could scarcely have happened to the merest tyro of a horseman, one who had passed the greater part of his life on horseback, and in the midst of the most patent dangers of every kind. Greater as a General than either as King or Stadtholder, he had been in truth a very unfortunate commander through his career of arms, for, with the exception of the victory of the Boyne and the capture of Namur, he had scarcely succeeded in one of his military enterprises. William had the character of a prudent and astute politician, although he had rarely given satisfaction even in that quality, but he aspired to, and had been acknowledged to have had, the honour of being arbiter, or umpire, in all the contests of Europe. His special characteristics were ambition and a hatred of Louis XIV. Yet in spite of these feelings, he was distinguished for making it his primary and constant aim to attend to the prosperity of his native as well as of his adopted country. He was a wonderful linguist, and could speak, or understand when spoken, almost every modern language; so that he was peculiarly fitted for the command of confederate forces of several nations. Though weak in physical structure, and delicate and infirm in constitution, yet he loved the manly exercise of the Chase, and was earnest, active, and indefatigable in war; and he ever proved himself a formidable adversary, though he may not have obtained the palm of victory.

His defects were manifestly due, in a great measure, to circumstances independent of himself; but the spirit which even these defects could not suppress was all his own. He thoroughly understood the operations of war by land, but neither possessed nor pretended to any skill in maritime affairs. In courage, fortitude, and equanimity, he rivalled the most eminent warriors of any

1702. age. It has been said of him that danger had the same effect upon his temperament that wine has upon many people, and roused him to cheerfulness and impetuosity of character in action. On other occasions he was grave, phlegmatic, and sullen, very sparing of speech and dry in conversation, with manners far from engaging. It was only when under fire and in tumult that he was free-spirited and animating, yet even then he was cool and a stranger to violent transports of temper. In private life he was both harsh and passionate, dead to all the warm and generous emotions of the human heart,—a cold lover, an indifferent husband, a disagreeable companion. Queen Mary is reported to have "thanked God that He had made her husband a great man, for that he was a disagreeable companion." His character and the success of his life serve to show that moderate abilities may achieve the greatest purposes, if the objects aimed at be planned with ordinary judgment, and pursued with perseverance. William always appeared indifferent to gain an ascendancy over others by humouring them, but nevertheless he was not destitute of dissimulation and intrigue. King William was not a man of genius, but of unbounded self-confidence, which is perhaps after all a more effectual element of success in the affairs of life.

His delight in danger.

His domestic character.

William of Orange was permitted by Providence to witness with his latest sight the successful issue both of his domestic and foreign policy. James II. had preceded him to the tomb by a few months, but not before the Treaty of Ryswick had forced France to acknowledge his rival as King of England; but Louis XIV., moved by the tears of La Maintenon, was so indiscreet as to whisper in the ears of James, before they closed in death, "Je serai pour votre fils comme j'ai été pour vous, et je le reconnaîtrai comme roi d'Angleterre, d'Ecosse, et d'Irlande," and he ordered a herald to pronounce over the coffin "the style" of the King of Great Britain; but "le grand Monarque"

was soon made to feel that he had already overstepped 1702.
the zenith of his presumption. As soon as the above fact was made known to William, he indignantly commanded the Earl of Manchester to withdraw from Paris, and directed that the French Ambassador should be sent away from London; which spirited conduct obliged the arrogant monarch "to eat his own words:" while Europe beheld, with astonishment and admiration, a king of yesterday bearding the son of a thousand kings on the most powerful throne of Christendom, and applauded in the act; for the bad faith of "the most Christian King" excited the unanimous scorn of the world [3].

[3] D'Auvergne's Campaigns; Burnet; Tindal; Hume; Macaulay; Histoire de la Hollande et du Pays Bas par Maréchal de Beaumont.

GRAHAM OF CLAVERHOUSE, VISCOUNT DUNDEE.

A ROYALIST GENERAL.

Born circa 1650. Died 1689.

His ancestry, education, and earliest military service.

John Graham was a cadet of the family of Kintrie, and was eldest son of Sir William Graham of Claverhouse in Angus, or Forfarshire. His mother was Lady Jane Carnegie, third daughter of the first Earl of Northesk. By the marriage of his ancestor William Lord Graham of Kincardine with the Princess Mary, second daughter of King Robert III., he was connected with the blood royal of Scotland. After completing his studies at the University of St. Andrew's, in 1670, he entered, as was the national custom for gentlemen of good birth and limited means, into foreign service; served some time in France as a volunteer, and afterwards went to Holland, where he very soon received a commission as cornet in a regiment of horse guards, from the Prince of Orange, afterwards William III.

By one of those singular accidents which we occasionally meet with in history, Graham, afterwards destined to become his most bitter opponent, saved the life of this Prince at the battle of Seneff, when he was in the grasp of the enemy, freed him from his assailants, and mounted him on his own steed. For which service he received a captain's commission, and the promise of the first regiment that should fall vacant.

Professor Aytoun, from whom we take this account of the parentage and earlier service of our hero, makes this remark,—"It is very much to be regretted that no competent person has, as yet, undertaken the task of compiling a full and authentic biography of Lord Viscount Dundee." The complaint is just, for neither Chalmers, nor Rose, nor any of the most universal Dictionaries, such, for example, as La Biographie Universelle, or Militair Conversations Lexikon, contains any notice of this "Warrior."

The Prince of Orange: anecdote.

From the anonymous "Memoirs" of the Viscount, "London, 1714," we extract this anecdote of the conduct of Claverhouse when serving in the Dutch army:—"When some years later a vacancy occurred in one of the Scottish regiments in the Prince of Orange's service, Claverhouse, relying on his Highness's promise, preferred his claim; but it was disregarded, and Mr. Collier, afterwards Earl of Portmore, was appointed over his head. Suspecting that this gentlemen had supplanted him by some foul play, they had an angry altercation, when they accidentally met, that ended in Claverhouse giving Collier a box on the ear. This circumstance coming to the ear of the Prince, he sent for Graham, and administered him a sharp rebuke. The Captain answered, that he admitted himself to be in the wrong, because it was more his Highness's business than his own to have resented the quarrel; for that Mr. Collier had less injured him in disappointing him of his regiment, than he had injured the Prince in making

him break his word." "Then," replied William, in an angry tone, "I make you a full reparation, for I bestow on you what is more valuable than a regiment, when I give you your right arm [1]." The Captain replied that, "since his Highness had given him permission to serve elsewhere, he would take it: for he would no longer serve a Prince who had broken his word." Claverhouse, having thus thrown up his commission in the Dutch army, was preparing to take his departure, when a message arrived from William, offering him 200 guineas for the horse on which he had saved his life. Graham accordingly sent him the horse, but ordered the gold to be given in a largesse. It is said that when the Prince of Orange subsequently heard that Claverhouse had entered the Royal army, he sent to the King and the Duke, recommending him as "a fine gentleman, and a brave officer."

The skirmish of Drumclog.

Graham was well-received by the Court, and was immediately appointed to a high military command in Scotland. It was during this interval that Claverhouse was employed both by Charles II. and James II. in enforcing the principles of Church and State, which it was the policy of those Sovereigns, between the Restoration and the Revolution, to carry at the sword's point in the Northern Kingdom. The most remarkable event in Claverhouse's military history in this interval was what was termed "The Skirmish of Drumclog." In the inflated phraseology of his admirers, "This affair is regarded as the only one in which he was defeated [2]." The facts are simply these:—That Claverhouse's especial duty was to put

[1] Macaulay, who questions the truth of this anecdote (he narrates it at length), which he calls "a legend," "an invented story," and "nonsense," explaining, that "to give his right hand" meant, to remit the punishment, but to dismiss him from the service. At any rate, whether the story be fact or not, it is of small historic importance, except as suggestive of the character of Claverhouse as an impulsive and fearless man.

[2] Walter Scott.

down the conventicles, which were the form in which at this juncture revolution and opposition to the Government displayed themselves. One Robert Hamilton, of the honourable house of Preston, and brother of Sir William, to whose title and estate he subsequently succeeded, was the so-called "crack-brained enthusiast," a man of bravery and energy in conflict and council among the Presbyterians. In the latter days of May, 1679, he was holding a conventicle at Ruglen, while Claverhouse was at Streven, in the same vicinity, in the execution of the duty assigned him; and with his accustomed activity the commander made a little tour to see if he could "fall upon it;" but "found them drawn up in battell upon a most advantageous ground, to which there was no coming but through mosses and lakes." Hamilton saw his advantages both in position and numbers, and boldly advanced to attack the King's general, whom he utterly discomfited. The incident is rendered memorable and classical by its being made the foundation of the imaginary savage duel between Bothwell and Balfour in "Old Mortality." 1679. —

We find Claverhouse a Major-General and second in command in Scotland, when the Prince of Orange landed at Torbay in 1688. He had been raised to the peerage by the title of Viscount Dundee, and was considered a man of such good parts and very estimable virtues, that he was regarded as the head of the Episcopal party in Scotland, for he had conceived an avowed hatred against the whole Presbyterian party, and had made himself odious to them, because he had in his military command executed many rigorous orders against them, even to the shooting of many; but he was in great popularity with the soldiers. 1688. Is appointed second in command in Scotland, and created Viscount Dundee.

The Scottish army, consisting of 3000 men, was in a state of excellent discipline; so that King James sent orders for it to march forthwith into England. The infantry was at the time under the command of General Marches into England, Oct.: retreat of James II.,

1688. — who is attended by Dundee in his flight to Rochester.

Douglas, brother of the Duke of Queensberry, and the cavalry under Viscount Dundee; and these began their march by way of York early in October, 1688, and joined the English army under the command of the Earl of Feversham about the end of the same month. The Prince of Orange did not land at Torbay till the 5th November; so that the arrival of this contingent was very opportune, and King James forthwith ordered twenty battalions of infantry, and thirty squadrons of cavalry, to march towards Salisbury, under Lord Feversham the General; and Lord Dundee served under him with high command; but the King was present in the field as commanding-in-chief, and raised his standard amongst them on the 19th November. The hostile armies soon approached, for as soon as William heard that the King had arrived at Salisbury, he set out on the 21st from Exeter to meet him. Nevertheless, while it was the interest of James to put the cause to issue by a battle, the Prince of Orange perfectly understood that it was his interest to avoid an action as long as possible. A first encounter, however, took place at Wincanton. Mackay's regiment, an English contingent of William's, lay in the position of the two armies near a body of the King's Irish, under the command of Sarsfield: the Irish were four to one. A lieutenant of Mackay's, of the name of Campbell, commanded a detachment that was in the town when the enemy came up. "Stand," cried Campbell; "for whom are you?" "I am for King James," answered an Irishman. "And I for the Prince of Orange," rejoined Campbell. "We will 'Prince' you," exclaimed the Irishman; on which Campbell called out "Fire;" and a sharp volley was poured into the Royal troops, who were not immediately prepared to make any return, but Dundee dashed forward at the hedge, behind which Campbell's men stood, and carried it by the bayonet. Sarsfield, however, recalled his detachment, and fell back; so

that this little incident only revealed the courage and military skill of Claverhouse. On the evening of Saturday the 24th, the King called a council of war. Feversham expressed his opinion that it was expedient for his Majesty to fall back. Dundee earnestly upheld a contrary opinion, and entreated James to allow him to march at once and attack the Prince of Orange. The consultation lasted till midnight, when the King decided for a retreat. The camp broke up at Salisbury with all the confusion of a flight. No man knew whom to trust, or whom to obey. Every one in the Royal army took his own way. Churchill led the defalcation, and several of inferior note caught the infection. Many whom shame might have restrained proved themselves eager to imitate the treacherous example; and many who would have stood by the King while he appeared firm and advancing, had no mind to follow a receding standard [3]. 1688. —

"Then out spoke gallant Claverhouse, and his soul thrill'd wild and high,
And he show'd the King his subjects, and he pray'd him not to fly [4]."

But the King seemed absolutely infatuated, and refused to allow a drop of blood to be shed in the quarrel. But the stern loyalty of Dundee remained unshaken. He wept with grief and rage, but returned to the troops at Watford, where he remained till he was informed that Feversham had ordered all the Royal army to disband. As soon, however, that it became known that the King had been stopped in his flight, and had returned to Whitehall, Dundee waited upon his Sovereign, and met his friend Lord Balcarras at the palace. They both had the honour of walking with King James in the last walk that he was ever fated to take up and down the once familiar Mall. His Majesty told them that he intended to put his affairs in Scotland under

Dundee returns to Scotland,

[3] Macaulay. [4] Geo. Sydney Smythe.

1689.

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and attends the Convention of the Estates at Edinburgh, March 16, 1689.

their management. "You, my Lord Balcarras, must undertake the civil business; and you, my Lord Dundee, shall have a commission from me to command the troops." The two noblemen vowed they would prove themselves deserving of his confidence, and disclaimed all thought of making their peace with the Prince of Orange. They then took their leave of His Majesty, and Dundee proceeded on a step that scarcely sounds as if it were to his credit. He swelled the crowd that greeted the intruding King, by whom he was most graciously received, for, as above stated, Claverhouse had lent him his sword and service in earlier days. Through the mediation of Burnet, he obtained from William a promise of protection and an escort of cavalry to enable him to return to Edinburgh, where he presented himself at the Convention of Estates, which had been summoned to receive the proposals of the Prince of Orange, and which assembled on the 16th March, 1689.

Interview with the Duke of Gordon, Governor of Edinburgh Castle.

It is said that as Lord Dundee was going to the Convention, he was accosted by one Bianie, a dyer, who apprised him that he had overheard a conversation among some persons, of an intention to murder him and Sir George Mackenzie. It is supposed that this was an affair got up by the Whig party, to rid themselves of two persons whose opinions were known to be obnoxious to them. It certainly had that effect. Dundee and his friends, not thinking themselves safe from the dagger of the assassin at Edinburgh, determined on setting up a counter Convention at Stirling. Nevertheless he was in the Convention when King James's letter was received and opened, and with his own hand signed the paper by which he undertook to stand by "the religion and liberty of Scotland." On Monday, the 18th, Claverhouse and his friends assembled for the next meeting, mounted on horseback, at the appointed place of rendezvous in the city, at the hour that had been fixed upon. He was now

accompanied by fifty troopers, all mounted and armed; and, in reply to the remonstrance of Balcarras and others, that his departure would be prejudicial to their party, he declared his determination to go "wherever the spirit of Montrose should direct[5]." Accordingly he left the place by the Nether-bow port, and on arriving opposite the Castle, he dismounted, and clambered up the steep precipice on the West side of that fortress, where he held a conference with the Duke of Gordon, the Governor, who stood in an adjoining postern gate immediately above him. The conversation held between them was not heard, and is not reported, but it was understood to relate to his plan for serving the fugitive King's cause by a rising, and that the Viscount entreated the Duke to hold out the Castle for His Majesty as long as he could, while he himself endeavoured to raise the investment as soon as he could collect his force. The unexpected appearance of Dundee riding down the High-street of Edinburgh at the head of a considerable body of retainers, and accompanied by an escort of cavalry, attracted a large number of spectators, who witnessed at a distance, and remarked the singular interview between the two noblemen. This was the famous interview so stirringly described by Walter Scott, in his glorious ballad of "Bonnie Dundee."

1689. —

Dundee withdraws to Stirling.

The Convention happened to be in session, and was soon apprised of Claverhouse's cortége in the streets, and of his conference with Gordon, which created a great sensation among the members. Duke Hamilton in a very angry tone, told them to look to their own safety, for that there must be enemies among their body who were privy to Dundee's designs; and he proposed that, in order to prevent any escape, the doors of the Convention should be locked, and the keys laid upon the table. This motion was agreed to; and the Earl

[5] Professor Aytoun.

1689. of Leven was forthwith directed to assemble what force he was able to collect, and to follow the insurgents. But their fears were soon dispelled by the news of the departure of the Tory cavalcade. And although a party of horse was despatched under Bunting, who overtook them, Dundee threatened him that "he would send him back to the Convention in a pair of blankets did he dare to molest him," and the Major had not the courage to attack: so that Claverhouse proceeded on his way over Stirling bridge, and repaired to his residence at Didhope.

Character and proceedings of Duke Hamilton: decision of the Convention Dundee is outlawed.

The Convention at Edinburgh was led by Duke Hamilton, a man of a temporizing character, ready to pay court to the rising sun, while his eldest son, the Earl of Arran, professed an adherence to the setting luminary;—a not unusual policy in Scotland at this period, when father and son were often observed to take opposite sides in civil commotions, in order to secure their families from attainder[6]. The Scottish Convention was entirely in the hands of the violent party; for the zealous Royalists, regarding such an assembly as illegal, had forborne to attend the elections. Accordingly they speedily arrived at the bold and decisive vote, "That King James, by his mal-administration and abuse of power, had forfeited all title to the throne;" which was accordingly declared vacant, and they made a tender of the crown to the Prince and Princess of Orange, and named a Committee to draw up an act for settling it upon them. Duke Hamilton was vested with full power and authority to exercise the government of the Kingdom of Scotland in their Majesties' name, and to seize and imprison any persons suspected of disaffection to them. Dundee was declared an outlaw and a rebel for absenting himself from the meetings of the Convention; and orders were sent out to apprehend him and Balcarras. The

[6] Hume.

latter was seized at his country seat, and carried prisoner to Edinburgh; but Claverhouse was informed of the warrant, and removed in time from Didhope to another country seat called Glengilby, or Glenorglivy, which he also abandoned soon after for the mountains. He had hitherto made no movement, in consequence of instructions from the King, desiring him not to appear openly in the field till a force of 5000 foot and 300 horse should land in Scotland; but he learnt afterwards that the messenger entrusted by the King to communicate further with him had been apprehended, and made a full confession of his mission to the Duke at Edinburgh. 1689.

The new Government was accordingly fully prepared for him. As early as the 26th March, 1100 men from the Scottish brigade serving in Holland, were landed at Leith, under General Mackay, who was appointed by King William Major-General of all Scotland[7]. Viscount Tarbut, one of the leaders of the

[7] General Hugh Mackay was son of Mackay of Scowry. He embraced the Venetian service at the commencement of his military career, which he soon quitted for the French, and served under Turenne in the campaign of 1672, in the Netherlands; after which he obtained the rank of Major in the army of the Prince of Orange. He remained in the Dutch service until he had the rank of Colonel in 1685, when he received the appointment of Major-General under King James II., who made him Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in Scotland, and admitted him a member of the Scotch Privy Council. He soon, however, saw through the intentions of the King, and, resigning his commission, returned to Holland. William and Mary, by a warrant dated from Kensington, the 4th January, 1689, sent him back to the command of Scotland for the new Government. He was raised to the rank of Lieutenant-General in 1690, and was killed at the battle of Steenkirk, the 3rd August, 1692. Bishop Burnet speaks of Mackay as "the most pious man he ever knew in a military way," and says that "his piety made him too apt to mistrust his own sense, and to be too tender, or rather fearful, in any thing where there might be a needless effusion of blood." There is no disputing a Bishop's definition of "a pious man," yet "in a military way" Mackay may be fairly judged to

1689. Convention and the ablest politician of his time, suggested to Mackay to make an attempt to detach the chief of the Highland clans, by making them an offer to release their lands from certain charges; but Cameron of Lochiel, Macdonald of Glengary, and others, despising the bribe, rejected his communications, or advised him, in derision, to imitate the conduct of Monk, and restore King James.

Dundee is pursued by Mackay, whom he skilfully eludes.

Dundee united himself with the Earl of Dunfermline, who had been sent by Gordon to raise his vassals in support of the Royal cause; but while occupied in raising forces, Mackay came upon him with a considerable body of troops in pursuit. He very nearly captured the Viscount in the braes of Angus, where he came upon him between Fettercairn and his house at Glenorglivy; but, apprised in time of Mackay's movements, he avoided the snare by recrossing the Dee. The Convention General, however, followed him to Kincardine, where he thought to avail himself of the clan Forbes; but, as they came to him neither in sufficient numbers, nor properly armed, he dismissed them to their homes. The clans North of the Grampians were either indifferent to the political events of the Kingdom, or were opposed upon principle to any change in the hereditary succession to the Crown; and Claverhouse knew this well, and calculated that by means of this feeling he might soon be able to arouse the warlike North against the more easy people of the Southern Highlands. The Forbeses had evinced this irresolution to Mackay when he tried to rouse them; and Dundee availed himself of the same feeling as he pursued his course through Aberdeenshire and Moray. He boldly crossed the valley of the Spey, at the head of 150 horse, and arrived without any oppo-

have been a very weak man; for though no one estimates piety in a soldier higher than I do, I do not discern its value in leading a man to "mistrust his own sense," or to be "too tender, or rather fearful," in delivering a blow whenever it is called for.

sition at Inverness. Here he obtained the accession of 1689.
the Macdonalds to the Royal cause, which he effected —
with great address, and at some self-sacrifice. A deadly feud had for some time existed between Macdonald and Mackintosh, arising out of some disputed claim. Graham interposed, and gave his own bond to Macdonald of Keppock in satisfaction of the claim, and obliged himself to see him paid compensation for his losses; while when Mackintosh fled from his award, he punished him for his obstinacy by desiring Keppock to drive off his cattle, which he retained for the use of the army. The Viscount, now in some strength, avowed his intention to take up his quarters at Elgin, and to attack. Mackay accordingly resolved to anticipate him, and, crossing the Spey, proceeded at a sharp trot to Elgin, where he lay a few days in expectation of the arrival of the Royalist General; but, as he did not appear, he took the road to Inverness, and learnt when he reached Fores, that the Viscount had quitted the town, and had crossed the heights of Badenoch on his way to Athole. In his march Claverhouse received the most gratifying assurances of support from the gentlemen of the country through which he passed, and a most cordial reception from the factor of the Marquis, who must either have acted under private understanding with his chieftain (who still remained at Edinburgh), giving an equivocal adherence to the Government, or he was ignorant of any instructions, and followed his own course. At all events, the Athole Highlanders did not oppose the passage of Dundee; and the gentlemen of Athole acted agreeably to the understood wishes of their chief. Claverhouse, hearing that the lairds of Pollock and Blair were lying in Perth with a troop of horse which they had raised for the service of the Government, determined to surprise them, and accordingly proceeded to the city in person, through the night, and with such celerity, that he arrived unexpectedly at early morning, and seized both

1689. the lairds in their beds, and carried them away prisoners. He took two other officers, and thirty horses; but, with a forbearance that was in his character, he declared that he would not interfere with the private property, and do no mischief but "for conscience and loyalty's sake." Accordingly, when he seized 9000 marks of public revenue in Perth, he left untouched a sum of 5000*l*. in the same room with the cess and Excise duties, having been informed that it was private property. Leaving Perth he made an ineffectual attempt to surprise Lord Rollo, and then appeared before the town of Dundee, where an officer in command of a squadron of Livingstone's dragoons shut himself in, unwilling to encounter the Viscount, who, after spending two nights in his own house at Dunhope, returned to the Highlands to meet his army at Lochaber, the place of rendezvous.

Mackay is deprived of reinforcements through Ramsay's irresolution and Dundee's alertness.

Mackay, finding himself unable to make head against his Royalist adversary, despatched an express to Colonel Balfour at Edinburgh, to send Colonel Ramsay with some regiments to his reinforcement. Just, however, as these were in readiness to march, a large number of vessels was seen in the offing from Leith, which was taken for a French fleet; and Ramsay was countermanded. In a few days after, those vessels were discovered to be Dutch herring busses; and the troops at length marched. But the delay occasioned great embarrassment to the operations of Mackay; for Dundee was enabled by it to throw himself with a large force between Mackay's and Ramsay's corps, and to threaten both with annihilation. Ramsay, when he found that Dundee was between himself and Mackay, felt alarmed; and, though no opposition had been offered to his march by the Athole men, he wheeled round to return to Perth. He had already appointed Mackay to meet him at Ruthven in Badenoch, but neglected to apprise him that he had altered his mind, and gone back to Perth.

Ramsay's retreat was likewise so disorderly, that the Highlanders were with difficulty restrained from laying hands upon him. Mackay had quitted Inverness in haste, to effect a speedy junction, with only two days' provisions, and had arrived half way to the "trysting-place" when he heard of Ramsay's retreat. 1689. —

Dundee had received and intercepted a despatch from Mackay, from which he learnt the intended junction of Ramsay and himself. In order to counteract this, he resolved to avail himself of an opportunity of successively attacking and destroying both divisions before they could unite; and with this view he quitted the rendezvous at Lochaber with a force of 2000 men, and entered Badenoch. He first fell in with Glengary, coming to meet him with 200 or 300 men. Then he met with 200 of Clan Ronalds, and soon after Appin and Glenco with the same number, and by Lochiel and Keppock; so that his force was now increased to upwards of 3000 Highlanders.

Mackay retires to Colmnakill, pursued by Dundee.

Mackay was exceedingly perplexed at Ramsay's retreat. He saw himself with a handful of men surrounded by a warlike and hostile population, and with a powerful force, which he could not singly resist, in front of him. He had no alternative which he could prudently adopt, but either to fall back on Inverness, or return down the Spey. He preferred the latter, as enabling him to keep up a communication with the South through Angus, while he could interpose an obstruction to his adversary's recruiting his army in the Gordon country. He then despatched an officer to Inverness, to apprise the garrison there of his intentions, and commenced a rapid march in the night towards Strathspey, nor did he draw bridle till he had descended the vale a considerable way. Dundee was close behind him, always afraid of exposing his men to the attacks of the regular horse; for the High-

1689. landers were singularly averse to engage with cavalry. At length the Viscount took up a position, which from the nature of the ground secured him from danger; and here for a time he remained passive. Mackay took up his quarters at Belcaster, a summer-house of Grant, and placed his army at Colmnakill, resting his right on a small river with a rough and stony bottom. While he was thus with the friendly clansmen of Grant, he received constant intelligence of his adversary's movements; and all the military precautions of patrolling and *tâtonnement* prevented any possibility of surprise from the enemy. But there were enemies in his camp, and even among the officers who commanded the Government forces; and this seemed so strange to an old soldier who, like Mackay, had served with most of them in former campaigns, that he rested paralysed, as it were, in his position at Colmnakill.

Mackay had left a small garrison of sixty men in the old Castle of Ruthven, under John Forbes of Culloden; and Dundee, hearing that they were in want of provisions, made a demonstration, to which the garrison submitted on condition of being allowed to return home on parole. As Forbes was making his way to Colmnakill he met two men on horseback, one in red and one in blue uniform, who challenged him in French; and this incident he mentioned to Mackay on meeting him. As blue was the uniform of Livingstone's men, the general ordered a muster, to learn whether any one was missing. But while he was preparing to carry out the inquiry, the General learnt that Dundee was marching down the Strath to attack him; and, under the circumstances of doubt and distrust, he saw clearly that he had no alternative but to retreat down Strathspey, whither the Viscount followed close after him. Mackay continued his retreat without stopping, for two nights and a day, when he crossed the river of Bogie, where, from sheer

exhaustion, he halted at four o'clock in the morning. Dundee had halted during the night within three miles of Strathbogie. While the Government troops were refreshing themselves, the General received intelligence of the arrival of reinforcements, which in fact came up to him at six o'clock the same evening; and accordingly the army cried a halt, and prepared to turn upon their pursuers, who immediately retired into Lochaber; and Mackay, continuing his march to Inverness, was there joined by Ramsay and his detachment. The Government army was now in sufficient force to keep the field; but Mackay, like most generals in the command of armies, found the civil service too slow, and indifferent to his representations, and, to speak the truth, he found himself unequal to contend with the Highlanders, and resolved to make his way to Edinburgh, to strengthen his hands for the task. He afterwards honestly admitted that the knowledge which he had acquired during thirty years of military service on the Continent was, in the new situation in which he was placed, useless to him. It was difficult in such a country as the Highlands were then even to track the enemy. It was impossible to force him to stand at bay. Food for an invading army was not to be found in such a wilderness of heath and shingle; nor could supplies for many days be transported far over quaking bogs, and up precipitous ascents. The General found that he had tired his men and their horses almost to death, and had as yet effected nothing. This experience satisfied Mackay that there was only one way in which the Highlands could be subdued. "It was idle to continue to run up and down the mountains after the mountaineers. A chain of fortified posts must be established in the most important strategic positions, and be maintained well garrisoned. The place he especially named was Inverlochy, close to an arm of the sea, where an old castle offered the readiest means of ready defences.

1689. —

Difficulties of Mackay's position.

1689. — The place was situated in the midst of the most hostile clans, and, if supported by one or two ships-of-war, would effectually overawe at once the Macdonalds, Camerons, and Macleans[8]." Mackay found that Edinburgh Castle had been surrendered by the Duke of Gordon on the 14th June, but that no steps had been taken by Duke Hamilton to carry into effect the proposals he had made for establishing his army in the Highlands for the winter; by which neglect he admits that he lost the opportunity of preventing Dundee from occupying Athole, Badenoch, and the Southern Highlands.

Dundee's plans for the campaign.

Such was the condition of affairs at this period, that while King James was in possession of almost all Ireland, King William had lost popularity in England; and nothing appeared wanting to give a decided and favourable turn to the Royal cause but to send aid to Dundee in Scotland. The fugitive Monarch, however, did not consider the matter in that light. Claverhouse was left to his own resources; and certainly no man was better fitted by nature to contend against such difficulties with the class of troops at his disposal. By his open frankness and disinterestedness he acquired a great ascendancy over the Highland chieftains, and captivated the clans by attending personally to their wants, mixing frequently among them, and sharing in all their privations and fatigues. Such a man was in the right place to lead such a bold and devoted band. Yet it was evident that without a powerful diversion from some quarter it would be impossible for Dundee, from the slenderness of his resources, and the almost total want of cavalry, to carry on the war in the South Highlands with any chance of success.

As soon as the Highland chiefs heard that Mackay had left his army, they availed themselves of the information to take a temporary leave of absence, and quitted Dundee's army. But towards the end of June

[8] Macaulay.

he sent expresses to hasten them back to the approaching muster; when he proposed to "go out of Lochaber with about three thousand." About the same time he answered the King's Commission of Lieutenant-General, which he had received, accompanied by the most gracious marks of the Royal favour, by urging that a body of 5000 or 6000 men might be sent him from Ireland, to land at Inverlochy, which he regarded as "the safest landing-place whence an easy entrance could be obtained for an army into Moray, Angus, or Perthshire." He promised that on hearing of this landing he would "raise the country," and proceed to the passes of the Forth to meet the King, who he supposed would follow the expedition. 1689. —

Mackay despatches Lord Murray on a fruitless mission to Blair-Athole.

While Dundee was thus maturing his plans for the ensuing campaign, Mackay was urging his favourite plan for fortifying Inverlochy, and taking measures for neutralizing the hostility or securing the attachment of the principal Highland Chiefs whom he met in the capital. Amongst others he met Lord Murray, eldest son of the Marquis of Athole; from whom he learnt that his father's chamberlain was fortifying the Castle of Blair-Athole in behoof of King James. He urged Duke Hamilton, his father-in-law, to induce the young lord to proceed himself immediately to Athole, to prevent his father's vassals from joining Dundee. Lord Murray accordingly repaired to Athole, where he arrived about the beginning of July. But the Marquis and the son were at variance in their political opinions; and no entreaties of the Master of Athole could persuade the clansmen to declare in favour of the Government; nor would the chamberlain admit him into the Castle of Blair-Athole. Lord Murray's mission therefore failed altogether.

Lord Murray's clansmen desert him, and join Dundee.

But about the period of his lordship's arrival in Athole, Dundee received intelligence that a body of 500 troops under an officer of the name of Cannon had reached the island of Mull. The Viscount accordingly

1689. repaired to Inverlochy, where they were all landed in safety; but the ships which brought them over were captured by some English frigates before the stores could be unshipped; which was a serious evil, and embittered the disappointment occasioned to the cause by finding so inefficient an expedition, which "did more harm than good." Having given orders for the Irish troops to march, the Viscount returned to Strovan, where he now fixed his head-quarters. From thence he despatched a letter to Lord Murray, on the 19th July, stating the happiness he felt on hearing that his Lordship was about to rendezvous his clan at Blair-Athole, and expressing a hope that he would join the forces of King James with his men. But, receiving no reply, the Viscount on the 25th sent Major Graham and Captain Ramsay, for the purpose of obtaining a personal interview; but Lord Murray declined to see the messenger, or to give any answer to Dundee's communication. The clansmen, who had assembled to the number of 1200 men at the call of the son of their chief, beheld with astonishment his treatment of Dundee's officers, and demanded with one voice an explanation of his intentions; intimating plainly, that if he would join Dundee they would follow him to a man; but that, if, on the contrary, he declined to take this course, they would all leave him. His lordship remonstrated, and threatened; but, regardless of his vapouring, they left him to join Claverhouse, and, in derision, filled their bonnets with water from the river Banovy, in the vicinity of the Castle, which they quaffed to the health of King James. From the memoirs which Mackay has left behind him it is clear that the state of matters with the Convention Government was at this juncture highly favourable to the interests of King James in Scotland; and that if the cabal that influenced the Monarch had accepted Graham's advice, and sent over a respectable force from Ireland, the cause of the Stuarts

might have triumphed in the Highlands. But, with that fatality which attended the unfortunate Monarch in all his undertakings, he allowed the golden opportunity which was here offered him of recovering his crown to slip away. 1689. —

Mackay's preparation to encounter Dundee.

Mackay, having made all necessary preparations with the Government at Edinburgh, hastened northward. He arrived at Stirling on the 24th July, when he inspected the defences of the Castle, and thence proceeded to Perth, where he received urgent appeals from Lord Murray to push forward. He learnt that Dundee, invited by Steuart of Ballechen to hasten into Athole, was already marching through Badenoch, and, with such eagerness to anticipate Mackay's return, that he was leaving behind him chiefs and clans. He had sent the fiery Cross through Appin and Ardnamuchan up Glenmore, and along Loch Leven; but the muster had not proved so strong as he had hoped for,—the whole number of broadswords coming up in his wake not exceeding 3000. The Irishman Cannon, with his 500 ill-armed, ill-clothed, and ill-disciplined levies out of Ulster, had come up to him, and bore a commission that gave him military command in Scotland next to Dundee. The general, who admits that he had begun "already to have very ill thoughts of the expedition in gross," gave very serious consideration to the arguments urged for his advance by Lord Murray, and saw that he must either allow Dundee to run on uncontrolled through the disaffected district of Athole, gathering strength at every step, or attempt to get possession of the Castle of Blair-Athole to control them.

On the 27th July, Dundee reached Blair-Athole, when he learnt that Mackay had quitted Perth on the 25th, with a force of 5000 men, a fair proportion of which consisted of horse, and that he was advancing towards the ravine of Killiecrankie. Lieutenant-Colonel Lauder had been despatched to secure the entrance

1689. into the pass for the vale of Blair, and, not meeting with a single man of the enemy, concluded that the pass was clear. Mackay therefore entered it in the following marching order;—The battalions of Balfour, Ramsay, and Kenmure advanced in succession, supported by Belhaven's troop of horse, and followed by Leven's regiment and the General's own; then came the baggage, counting 1200 horses, guarded by Annandale's horse: Hastings' regiment formed the rear guard.

The eve of the Battle of Killiecrankie.

The celebrated glen of Killiecrankie was deemed in the days of which we speak the most perilous of all those dark ravines through which the marauders of the hills were wont to sally forth. The river Garry, narrowed into an impetuous stream, brawled round rocks and masses of grey crag, allowing one single narrow and rugged path, up which a horse could be led with difficulty, or two men walk abreast. Dundee could not have anticipated such an opportunity as was now offered him for bringing the matter in which he was engaged to the crisis of a battle. Yet he so far deferred to his followers as to summon a council to determine whether they should fall back upon the wild glens and fastnesses of the Grampians, or, regardless of the inferiority of their force, fall upon the enemy. The veterans who had been trained in the great wars of the Continent, alleged that it was neither wise nor prudent to risk any engagement with the clansmen against an army of disciplined men that exceeded their own numbers by more than half. But Lochiel exclaimed, with his usual energy, "Fight, my Lord; fight immediately, if you have only one to three. Our men are in heart. Their only fear is that the enemy should escape them. Give them their way, and be assured they will rather perish or gain a complete victory. But if you restrain them,—if you force them to remain on the defensive,—I answer for nothing. If we do not fight, we had better break up,

and retire to our mountains." Glengarry supported the views of his brother chieftain; and Dundee, chiming in cheerfully with these daring compeers, cried out, "You hear the opinion of men who understand Highland war better than any of us." 1689.

"Now he raised his hand for silence;
'Soldiers! I have sworn a vow,
Ere the evening star shall glisten
On Schehallion's lofty brow,
Either we shall rest in triumph,
Or another of the Graemes
Shall have died in battle harness
For his country and King James.'"

Mackay's advance.

Mackay, however, had made his arrangements with great tact and skill. The ascent had been long and toilsome; but the head of the column had emerged out of the pass, and was on the table-land. Wearied with the morning's work, his soldiers threw themselves upon the grass, to take some rest and refreshment. Lauder was sent forward with 200 fusiliers and a troop of horse to look out for the Highland army. He had not far to go: the summit of the ascent, which was but a musket shot distant, was covered with bonnets and plaids. The line, which had necessarily many gaps for the clans yet to come up, was formed with as much skill as the peculiar character of the clansmen permitted him to exert. It was essential, or most desirable, to keep the several clans distinct. The right, next the Garry, was composed of the regiments of McLean, Glengarry, and Clanranald, each comprising about 700 men. In the centre was Dundee himself, at the head of a small but ill-equipped body of cavalry, composed of Lowland gentlemen and their followers, with about forty troopers. The Cameronians and Skyemen, numbering about 120 men each, were on the left, under Lochiel and Macdonald of Sleat. Glengarry carried the Royal Standard. Cannon and his Irish foot were a second line.

1689. — Lochiel's request to Dundee is heroically declined by the latter.

In Highland war, as in all countries where men are not marshalled scientifically for battle, the chief was expected to set a personal example of courage and bodily exertion. Lochiel, a most noble fellow, was especially renowned for his physical powers, and he carried the reputation of having himself broken hostile ranks, and hewn down mighty warriors. But he was of a generous and disinterested character, and, riding up to Claverhouse, begged to be heard in a few words:—"I humbly beg leave to give the word of command for this one time. It is in the name of these gentlemen and the voice of your Council: and their orders are, that you do not engage personally. On your Lordship depends the fate not only of this little, brave army, but also of our King and country." Lochiel therefore adjured Dundee not to run into any unnecessary danger. The Viscount replied with calm magnanimity:—"I am absolutely convinced, and have had repeated proof, of your zeal for the King's service, and of your affection to me as your general. I am also fully sensible that if I shall chance to be killed it may be a loss to the cause. But I must beg leave of you to allow me to give one *Shear Darg* (that is, "one harvest day") to the King my master, that I may have an opportunity of convincing the brave clans that I can hazard my life in that service as freely as the meanest of them. Allow me this single favour; and I here promise on my honour that in future fights I will take more care of myself."

Meanwhile, a fire of musketry commenced on both sides, which was followed by a brisk cannonade from Mackay's artillery. The small space between the armies was one dense mass of smoke. The clans grew impatient, for they never liked the musket's mother. Dundee gave the word to prepare to advance. His men uttered a loud shriek. This was responded to from the other side by a feeble shout and a wavering cheer. "We shall do it now," cried Lochiel; "that

is not the cry of men who are going to win." It was 1689. seven o'clock, and within an hour of sunset. Dundee — stood by the house of Urrard. He had exchanged his red coat—which he had worn during the day, and by which he knew he might be recognized by the enemy's scouts—for another of a darker colour. The Highlanders stripped themselves to their shirts and doublets; and when Claverhouse gave the word, they advanced, according to their usual practice, with their bodies bent forward, to present as small a surface as possible to the fire of the enemy. They dropped their plaids, and flung away the rude socks of untanned hide which they were accustomed to wear, and thus, like their ancestors, the "pictos Britannos," in the garb of nature, they cast away their firelocks, drew their broadswords, and, bare feet on the sward, they rushed forward with a fearful yell; and a flood of Macleans, Macdonalds, and Camerons, came down upon the regulars while they were fumbling with their muskets; and in two minutes the battle was lost and won. The shock was too impetuous to be resisted, and would have told against the most perfect soldiery in the world. No courage could have availed to ward off such an onslaught; no strength could parry the tremendous stroke of the double-edged sword or axe, which with a single blow felled an adversary to the earth, or struck off a member from the body. The ranks of Balfour's regiment broke when their chief was cloven down from his horse. Mackay's brother was laid dead by a stroke from a claymore; and his nephew bore away in flight eight wounds on his body. Mackay himself retained his self-possession, and thought to retrieve the day by a charge of horse. Dundee, accompanied by the Earl of Dumfermline and only sixteen gentlemen, received the assault, and the troopers galloped away from them in disorder, followed by Annandale's horse; and all was over!

It was while standing up in his stirrups to cheer the Dundee is

1689. — slain in action: retreat of Mackay to Stirling.

men forward in this charge, that, when waving his hat to urge them on, the fastenings of his cuirass broke, and exposed the side of his naked body, when a random shot struck him immediately below his armour, and Dundee fell from his horse mortally wounded. A man of the name of Johnstone was near him, and caught him as he fell. "How goes the day?" said the Viscount. "Well for King James," answered Johnstone; "but I am sorry for your Lordship." "It is well for him," replied the dying man, "it makes less for me." He never spoke again. For some motive not recorded, his body was stripped; and some there were who asserted that they saw it naked on the ground. It was, however, soon taken up, and, wrapped in two plaids, was carried to the Castle of Blair-Athole. Mackay, ignorant of Dundee's fate, seeing all lost, and no disposition on the part of his Highlanders to obey or follow him, and well acquainted with Claverhouse's skill and activity in pursuit, began to think of his own safety; and, certain that he could not retreat by ascending the pass —for the enemy was already there in force—he resolved to push across the mountains, and make towards the valley of the Tay. At length the weary fugitives, who collected around the General, came in sight of Weem Castle, where the proprietor, a friend of the new Government, extended to them such hospitality as was in his power. On the 29th July they reached Stirling, with very little halting, and with about 400 followers.

Lines on the death of Dundee by Dryden, Pitcairn, and Aytoun.

The Viscount Dundee was buried in the church of Blair-Athole; but no monument has ever been erected over his grave; and the church itself has long since disappeared. A rude stone on the field of battle marks, if local tradition may be trusted (and it is now 120 years old), the place where the hero fell; and his memory is embalmed in the immortal verse, Latin and English, of Pitcairn, Dryden, and Aytoun:

1689.
—

"Oh, last and best of Scots! who didst maintain
Thy country's freedom from a foreign reign:
New people fill the land, now thou art gone,
New gods the temples, and new kings the throne.
Scotland and thou did in each other live,
Nor wouldst thou her, nor could she thee survive.
Farewell! who dying didst support the State,
And couldst not fall but with thy country's fate."
DRYDEN.

"Ultime Scotorum at ultime Grame, vale!"
PITCAIRN.

"Last of Scots and last of freemen—
Last of all that dauntless race,
Who wouldst rather die unsullied
Than outlive the Land's disgrace!
Sleep, and till the latest trumpet
Wakes the dead from earth and sea,
Scotland shall not boast a braver
Chieftain than our own Dundee."
AYTOUN.

Character of Dundee.

Macaulay says of Dundee, "His name is mentioned with respect by that large class of persons who think that there is no excess of wickedness for which courage and ability do not atone." The remark is trite enough, but is intended in this place to suggest that the reverse of "respect" ought to attach to the name of Claverhouse. As far as his own history is concerned, that writer refers to "his cruelties" in the Index; but the reference gives a case in which no authority whatever implicates Graham of Claverhouse. There is no doubt whatever that in the Civil War a great deal of wanton, needless cruelty was exercised on both sides; and the Puritans, who were every whit as blameable as the Royalists, fixed the stigma by name upon Claverhouse, and the sinister designation of "Bloody Clavers" has been given to our hero; and Sir Walter Scott speaks of him as "uniting the seemingly inconsistent qualities of courage and cruelty, a disinterested and devoted loyalty to his Prince, with a disregard of the rights of his fellow-subjects," and as "the unscrupulous agent

1689. of the Scottish Privy Council in executing the merciless severities of the Government in Scotland during the reigns of Charles II. and James II." Sir Walter also records an anecdote supporting this character of John Graham:—"He was very desirous to see and be introduced to a certain Lady Elphinstone, who had reached the advanced age of one hundred years and upwards. The noble matron, who was a staunch Whig, was rather unwilling to receive Claver'se (as he was called from his land), but at length consented. After the usual compliments, he remarked how many strange changes she must have seen in her time! 'Hout, na, sir,' said her Ladyship, 'when I was entering life there was ane Knox deaving us a' wi' his *clavers* (signifying in common parlance 'idle chat'); and now I am ganging out there is ane Clavers deaving us a' wi' his *knocks*.'"

In his eyes the Revolution that drove the unfortunate King James from his throne was a great national sin, which could only be atoned for by restoring to him his crown,—an object in the accomplishment of which he conceived all good men were bound to lend a helping hand. With an inflexibility of purpose which no temptation could turn aside he steadily pursued this object, and appears to have been incited to it the more from feeling as a Graham the desire to emulate the career of Montrose. Although as a military commander he had few equals in his own generation, and stood unrivalled in the art of gaining the affection of his followers, he cannot be compared in military genius with "the Great Marquis," even in two careers that so nearly resembled one another, and almost over the same ground. Dundee had nothing of the captivating enthusiasm and generous bearing that distinguished Montrose, nor had he the marvellous innate resources in war that the Marquis so frequently displayed. His loyalty to the Crown might have been as intense; but there was not that halo that encompassed both the

love and the sword of Montrose in all the changes and 1689.
chances that befell him in his path of glory. Dundee —
was indeed more happy in his death than Montrose; and in his life he was a more assiduous soldier, and more thorough disciplinarian, and better versed in all the details of his profession. Those who knew Claverhouse best were in doubt whether his civil or military capacity was most evident. None of his nation so well knew the different interests, tempers, and inclinations of those best disposed to serve King James. None possessed more ability to insinuate and persuade His extreme affability gained him the hearts of all who followed him, and this brought him such reputation, that it was thought that had he survived the battle, he might have changed the fortunes of the Stuarts[9].

[9] Browne's History of the Highlands; Burnet's History; Tindal's History; Professor Aytoun's Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers; Sir Walter Scott's "Old Mortality;" Memoirs of Dundee; Creighton's Memoirs; Mackay's Memoirs; Lives of the Lindsays; Stewart's Sketches.

AURUNGZEBE, THE GREAT MOGUL, EMPEROR OF INDIA.

Born 1614. Died 1707.

1614. This celebrated conqueror of Hindostan, who
— adopted the above name, which being interpreted
His parentage. means "the Ornament of the Throne," and by which he is best known in history;—although, on attaining supreme power, he assumed the loftier title of Alem-Gheer, or "Conqueror of the World;"—was one of four sons of Shah Jehan, by his wife the daughter of his Vizier Aziph-Jah. This alliance had been productive of great strength to the throne of the Mogul, by the means taken under their joint power to quell the intrigues of the nobility, as well as to extend the dominions of the Shah, who now wielded supreme power over Bengal, the Deccan, Candahar, Cashmere, and Guzerat. The wars under which these latter

conquests were achieved were principally directed by the military talents of his four sons. 1614. —

Dara, the eldest, was one of the most accomplished and enlightened princes that India ever produced. He was undoubtedly the most richly gifted by nature of all the brothers, both in the powers of his mind and in the virtues of his heart; and he was a most highly educated man. Not content with the learning of Persia and Arabia, in which, like all the princes of the house of Baber, he was well versed, he drank deeply from the ancient fountains of Hindoo philosophy, and kept a staff of Hindoo pundits, whom he liberally maintained. He was animated even by the desire of acquiring some insight into the literature and customs of Europe, and protected and encouraged a college of Jesuits at Agra with a view to this gratification. He was also a highly popular character, frank beyond what the habits of the East even sanction, combining the candid open-heartedness of the soldier, the polished cultivation of the man of letters, with an unbounded generosity of purse, which was not always under the guidance of a discriminating prudence. He was remarkably handsome, with an elegant and insinuating address, and was the favourite of his father, although, as a "liberal" in matters of faith, he alienated the Mussulman nobles. This kind of character was not quite suited to the times in which he lived, and he early discerned the dangerous policy and capacity of his brother Aurungzebe, which led Dara to remark that of all his brothers he feared most "the bigot and great praying man."

Characters of the four sons of Shah Jehan.

Sujah, the second son, was remarkable for the prudence with which he restrained the openness of his temper and generosity of disposition. Both these brothers were distinguished, and nearly in an equal degree, for their talents and success as warriors. The special characteristics of Morad the youngest son were violence and impatience, not, however, proceeding

1614. from an unfeeling heart or a vicious disposition. He was always remarkable for a larger share of openness and sincerity than either of his brothers, and in animal courage he surpassed them both. He was reckless in every thing, giving himself up without self-command to wine and other sensual indulgences. To conclude the history of the family before we proceed to the biography of our hero, we may notice that the mother, who was a woman of singular prudence and propriety, was of an amiable and gentle disposition, and of great virtue as well as beauty. The Empress evinced such a strict and regular regard for her husband's views and wishes, that she acquired a very powerful and beneficial influence over him. During her life, Shah Jehan had no other wife; and when she died he raised to her memory the celebrated mausoleum still existing at Agra, called the Taj Mahal, built of the finest marble, inlaid with precious stones, at a cost of 750,000*l*. Shah Jehan, who had attained a clear insight into the characters of each of his four sons, was apprehensive that at his death disputes might arise as to the succession. Partial to Dara, as his first-born, he kept him near his person at Delhi, and made him the associate of his throne, commanding that the same respect should be paid to his signet as to his own. In order, however, that no jealousy should arise among his sons, he made Sujah governor of Bengal, Aurungzebe governor of the Southern

1657. Provinces, and Morad governor of Guzerat. As soon, however, as they heard that their father had been seized with a stroke of palsy, in 1657, each of them, without communication with any of the others, anticipated a fatal issue to the seizure, and, apprehending the destruction of the power which they administered in their respective governments, they resolved to march with all expedition, and with all the forces they could collect, upon their father's capital. Jehan tried in vain to check the fratricidal war, but not

Sujah marches towards Delhi, and is routed near Benares by Dara.

able himself to leave Delhi, he accordingly despatched Dara, with 100,000 horse, and 4000 pieces of artillery, to oppose Sujah, who first approached the seat of government. On taking leave of his father, he received from him this questionable blessing: "Go, my son; God bless thee. But remember well my words: if thou losest the battle, take heed that thou never come again into my presence." Dara, mounted on a Ceylon elephant of surpassing beauty, led a splendid array of the finest horse in Hindostan, and entered Sujah's camp near Benares, which movement, however, soon terminated in the defeat of the invader. 1657. —

Character of Aurungzebe: he seeks to deprive Dara of the throne of Delhi.

Aurungzebe, who was the third son of the Emperor, was inferior to all his brothers in the advantages of person and address; but he compensated for these deficiencies by possessing in a high degree the arts of dissimulation and intrigue. Towering ambition was his ruling passion; and this he was resolved to gratify without the slightest compunction as to the unlawfulness of the means he adopted. But he well knew that to make his ambition successful, he must keep it concealed from all observation. While he possessed the government of the Deccan his master-passion had not been asleep; and he cherished it by the exercise of those talents which were so well calculated to secure its gratification in the most unsuspected manner. He affected the habits of a faquir, and employed religion as a mask to cover his designs. A man of low origin, named Jumla, had raised himself to great power at the Court of the Princes of Golconda, but in consequence of some affront he had met with he quitted it and fled to Aurungzebe, who received him in the most flattering manner, and soon gained such an ascendancy over him as to persuade him to appropriate the immense wealth that he had acquired in Golconda to further the attempt that Aurungzebe was now making to deprive Dara of the throne of Delhi.

He induced his brother Morad, in the expedition from

1657. Guzerat, to join him on the march at Burhampoor. Dara found that the forces of this triple union were so numerous, that he sent a general on whom he could depend to oppose this host at the passage of the Nerbuddah: but the attempt was in vain; the army was overthrown, and fled to Agra, where Dara assumed the command, and a battle ensued. But the daring and genius of Aurungzebe were from the beginning of the invading march eminently conspicuous. He now commanded, lest any panic or treachery should take place among the troops, already wearied by a march that had almost extended through the length of Hindostan, that all his elephants should have their legs chained, and thus immoveable in array of battle he rode through the ranks, calling the great Omrahs who surrounded him each by a familiar name:—"Courage, my old friend. God is! God is! What hope can there be in flight? Know you not how far off is our Deccan? God is! God is!" The victory appeared doubtful for a considerable time, and only at last showed itself in favour of the invader by an apparently trifling incident. The daring treachery of a friend about the person of Dara craftily induced the Prince, "by most sweet words," to descend from his elephant, and take horse; but no sooner did his soldiers see the royal houdah empty, than his followers believed the story circulated by confederates, that Dara was killed; and every one instantly sought safety in flight. Aurungzebe and Morad thus became victors, and Dara fled away into Agra, and, mindful of his father's injunction, did not dare to enter the Imperial presence till he was sent for. Aurungzebe, however, did not lose an instant in marching straight to his father's presence, when he imprisoned the aged monarch, with all the family that were about him, in the fortress, and then moved forward to secure Dara, who had now fled to Delhi. This unceremonious and irreverent treatment of his father did not accord with

Defeats Dara, and imprisons his father.

the views of Morad, who thenceforward regarded his brother with suspicion and alarm. As he was a favourite with the soldiery, Aurungzebe saw the necessity of removing him without scruple; and this he did, after his accustomed and subtle manner. He invited him to a sumptuous entertainment, and, knowing his weak side, placed before him the beaming wine of Shiraz, and some choice bottles of Caubul vintage. To crown the joys of the evening, some of the most graceful girls of Hindostan were introduced to lend every enticement to his lust, by a display of their blandishments, and the perfect symmetry of their limbs. Aurungzebe, in his character of a strict Mussulman, left him to take his fill of the rapture provided for him, while exhorting his brother to taste the joys freely, and to make merry with his friends. The result of this ensnaring treatment may be readily anticipated. The reckless libertine, exhausted with a surfeit of delight, fell asleep, and was disarmed; after which he was seized, carried off, and murdered. Aurungzebe then immediately proceeded on his march to Delhi. With all his characteristic duplicity, however, he dare not there assume the sovereignty without appearing to have it forced upon him by the urgent representations and entreaties of his friends.

1657.
—

Causes his brother Morad to be murdered.

When Sujah heard of these proceedings he collected a large army, with which he marched on Delhi. The two brothers met at Kedjera, about thirty miles from Allahabad. The battle that ensued was obstinate and bloody. In the course of it Aurungzebe's elephant was forced down to his knees by a vigorous charge of the enemy, and in such a dilemma, as was natural, he had already withdrawn his feet from his houdah, in order to alight on the ground, when some of his attendants, remembering the incident of the battle of Agra, cried out, "Stop! you descend from a throne;" on which he resumed his seat, and continued in the midst of the conflict a mark for the spears and arrows of

Defeat of Sujah, and murder of Dara.

1657. his foes. Yet he remained unscathed until the victory turned in his favour, and Sujah fled. His existence, nevertheless, was still to leave a dangerous and formidable opponent in his path. Meer Jumna was despatched after him, and attacked him at Tanda, a town in Bengal, near the ancient city of Gour, where he was again defeated; and he fled to the mountains of Tipperah, where Sujah led a wandering life for years, but never again took up arms against Aurungzebe. Dara, his eldest brother, had in like manner become a wanderer in the deserts, without an army or country, until he was treacherously seized, and sent to Delhi, where he was murdered, and his head was sent to the Emperor, who is said to have satisfied himself that it was really the head of his ill-fated brother, by cleansing it with his own hands from the blood which obscured the features.

1659. Aurungzebe becomes sovereign of Hindostan, 2nd May.

Thus through seas of blood Aurungzebe attained to the monarchy of all Hindostan, and now dated the commencement of his reign from the 2nd May, 1659. The power thus obtained through bloodshed and guilt was, however, exercised with moderation, ability, and good fortune, which rendered his reign the most brilliant era of the domination of the race of Timur in India, eclipsing the preceding glories of Akbar and Shah Jehan. From his accession till the year 1678 there prevailed throughout India the most undisturbed tranquillity that had perhaps ever been known in Hindostan. He was already the most renowned potentate of the Eastern world; and the Shah of Persia, the Shereef of Mecca, and the Emperor of China, and even many sovereigns of Europe, sent to compliment him on his power, and to solicit his friendship.

1666. Death of Shah Jehan: splendour of his Court.

In the year 1666 died the Emperor Shah Jehan, his father, almost forgotten, at the palace of Agra, at the age of seventy-five. For eight years he had been left in the possession of the insignia and pomp of royalty, but under the closest restraint. Bitter and incessant were his complaints against Aurungzebe, and he never could

hear his name pronounced without uttering a curse. 1666.
His last request was, to be laid by the side of his first —
wife, whom he had loved so dearly; and to this day may be seen, side by side, enclosed within a screen of elaborate tracery, the tombs of "the most exalted of the age, and the King of the world." Shah Jehan is the great Mogul whose splendid Court, fabulous wealth, and extensive retinue, have become familiarized to European ears through the descriptions of Bernier and Tavernier, who relate that on the birth of his grandson he seated himself on the famous golden throne of Delhi, which was surmounted by a parrot as large as life, cut from a single emerald, and backed by two peacocks, of which the jewels that adorned the tails amounted in value to a million and a quarter sterling. The fame of Aurungzebe's court also excelled all that imagination can picture of Oriental magnificence. Although the Emperor preserved in his own person the ascetic simplicity that had marked his earliest years, yet his pomp and parade equalled in every way that of his father in the height of his magnificence; and the account of the splendour of his progresses through his kingdom presents some of the most striking pictures of the dazzling majesty of the ancient Mogul in his "pride of place."

Public and domestic reforms effected by Aurungzebe.

But amidst all this attendant pomp the Emperor Aurungzebe preserved, as we have said, in his own person the greatest simplicity, daily attending to the duties of his station, and fulfilling with scrupulous exactness the prescribed precepts of the Koran. He established perfect security of property throughout his dominions; the forms of justice were simplified, and rendered more expeditious than they had been; fees were regulated; appeals were facilitated; and to corrupt a judge was, for the first time, constituted a crime. He extinguished the spirit of party by suppressing all revengeful reprisals against those who had opposed his own elevation; and he converted enemies

1666. into friends by a judicious distribution of favours. He was the consistent enemy of immorality of every description in his court. He discountenanced gambling and drunkenness; and the long train of depraved girls and buffoons, in whom his father had taken such delight, was banished from Delhi, as unbeseeming the dignity of man, and degrading to Imperial Majesty. Even in the matter of women, he had a seraglio, according to the custom of the East; but he limited himself to the commerce of his lawful wives, and even in their company he passed but little of his time.

Patronizes learning, and establishes schools and hospitals.

His public works likewise partook of the character of a superior mind. They were for the most part useful rather than ostentatious: and he expressly commanded his children to give themselves no concern about a monument to his memory. He built caravansarais on all the great roads of communication with the capital, and maintained and furnished them at the public expense. In all the principal cities of the Empire he founded Universities, and in the smaller towns he established schools. He was a liberal patron of learned men, and even a correspondent with them on matters of instruction. He was, as has been already stated, a well educated man himself, was master of the Persian and Arabic languages, and wrote in most of the Eastern dialects with ease and elegance; and some of his despatches to his secretaries which are still extant, are remarkable for clearness, brevity, and precision. He established numerous hospitals for the poor, the sick, and the maimed; and the unfortunate and distressed experienced the bounty of their sovereign.

His duplicity and indirectness.

After reading this summary of the government of a mighty monarch, and calling to mind that he was the contemporary of Louis XIV. of France, of Philip IV. of Spain, of the Stuart Princes of England, of Peter I. of Russia, and of the Innocents, the Clements, and the Alexanders, who occupied the chair of St. Peter, one is

startled at the comparatively defective civilization of the West, even under the humanizing and refining influence of Christianity. It may be that the picture is overcharged, because there certainly remains a very dark side of the character of Aurungzebe yet to be recorded. His character was tarnished by a more than Oriental duplicity, so that it was a sort of principle of life with him never to trust to the appearance of fair and open dealing what could be accomplished by chicanery and *ruse*. It pervaded the whole of his conduct, from his earliest childhood to the moment that he effectually attained the mastery of his father and his brethren. 1666. —

1662. Commencement of English influence in the East: cession of Bombay.

Sir Edward Sullivan dates from this period the insertion of that thin edge of the English influence which has eventually given to Great Britain the vast Empire of Aurungzebe. The immense wealth and prosperity of Hindostan excited and attracted the cupidity of the merchant adventurers of Europe, who availed themselves of the increased facilities of intercourse by sea and land to visit those regions of unmeasured wealth. King Charles II., in 1662, received, in dowry of his Portuguese Queen, the Island of Bombay; and Ley, the Earl of Marlborough (an eminent sea-officer, who was killed in the great sea-fight in 1665), was sent with five ships and 500 men to take possession of the settlement. This was the first time that the British flag was unfurled within the Mogul Empire A few years subsequently, an English physician travelling in India had the good fortune to restore one of the Emperor's family from sickness, and received for his reward the privilege of establishing a factory on the Hooghly; and thus was sown the small seed from which sprang the Pagoda tree of British wealth on the Ganges.

1666. Hindostan invaded by the Shah of Persia.

Aurungzebe could not escape the troubles that commonly attend an extensive empire exposed to the hostility of powerful neighbours. In 1666 the Shah of Persia invaded his territories at the head of a

1666. numerous army; but, before the Emperor could advance as far as Lahore to meet the invader, Abbas II. died suddenly at Teber Estoun, a palace near Daurghana, of a fever brought on, as was supposed, by his intemperance. In 1668 the Affghans crossed the Indus, and spread terror and devastation through the plains of the Punjab. They were ultimately defeated and driven back to their strongholds; and the year 1669 closed with the re-establishment of tranquillity throughout the Empire. At this date the Allumghere-nameh, the official record of the Emperor's reign, composed under his own inspection by his secretary, was concluded; and we have to seek for information concerning the least prosperous portion of the reign of Aurungzebe from the elaborate records of his grandeur by the two Frenchmen, Bernier and Tavernier, and other sources.

Defeat of the Affghans, 1668.

1673. In 1673 another rebellion of the Affghans occasioned an inroad, which the Mogul governor of Peshawar was necessitated to oppose; but the considerable force sent against the marauders was surrounded and destroyed in the mountains, together with its commander. The

1674. following year (1674) a competitor for the Emperor's throne in the person of a Patan soldier, who was said to bear a strong resemblance to Sujah, the elder brother of Aurungzebe, occasioned a war that carried him across the Indus, at the head of an immense army. This war was protracted for fifteen months, when the Patans were driven back into their mountains, and Aurungzebe returned to his capital the 3rd July, 1676.

Defeat of the Patans, 1676.

With the exception of the remote disturbances on the frontier above related, the first eighteen years of the Emperor's reign were marked by a peace as prosperous as it had been unusual in Oriental history; but the latter portion of it was passed almost entirely in camps. And the decline of all mighty empires will be found, as all history attests, to have been precipitated

by the insensate pursuit of some conquest which nature or destiny appears to have forbidden. 1664.

It has been stated that a special characteristic of the mind of Aurungzebe was a strong passion for dissimulation and intrigue. From his earliest youth he had simulated an ardent attachment to the religion of Mahomet, and was ostensibly a rigid Moslem. His habitual intolerance of any opponent rendered him desirous of effecting the conversion of the Hindoos by the sword; and numerous revolts had been excited against his authority by those whose faith had been generously protected by former Mogul sovereigns, but who experienced neither forbearance nor mercy at the hands of Aurungzebe. At length the rise of the Mahratta power in India brought upon the stage the famous Sivaji, a Hindoo fully instructed in the rules and observances of his caste, endued with a conscientious veneration for the religious customs and creed of his forefathers, and in whose bosom was implanted an abhorrence of Mohammedanism as inveterate as that which was entertained by Aurungzebe against the faith of Bramah, and an equal desire to devote his best energies to the extirpation of his detested antagonist.

Aurungzebe seeks to establish Mohammedanism upon the ruins of the faith of the Hindoos: but is withstood by Sivaji.

Sivaji was a Mahratta, or a native of Marashta, a district comprising nearly the whole of the Deccan; and his father Shahji, who founded this mighty power in 1629, which has to our own day exercised a strong and extensive influence in the Indian peninsula, was one of the greatest freebooters known in history. Aurungzebe, at the commencement of his career, and while holding the government of Southern India, encouraged this adventurer, and is even said to have promised him that he should hold exempt from tribute whatever territories he might conquer south of Bejapore. But he in a short time became sufficiently formidable to set the Mogul at defiance, and established himself in the strong fortress of Raree in the Ghauts, around which, even before our hero had attained Im-

Character and proceedings of Sivaji.

1664. perial power, he had acquired a considerable dominion. When Aurungzebe was preparing to march towards Agra to dethrone his father, he sent officers of high position to Sivaji to request him to join him. But the Mahratta chief, with well-feigned astonishment (for he had himself already repudiated his own parents), pretended to be struck with horror at the prospect of so unnatural a rebellion. Accordingly he received the messengers with marked indignation, drove them from his presence, and ordered the letter they had brought to him to be tied to the tail of a dog. Such a proceeding was not to be readily forgiven, and from the moment that the Emperor attained his power he vowed the destruction of this "mountain rat," as he insultingly styled Sivaji.

The history of Sivaji for the first fifteen years of his independent career is one of the most exciting and romantic that it is possible to conceive. His sword was never out of his hand; and, whether the enterprise that occupied his attention was far or near—whether it were the conquest of a kingdom or the recovery of a hill-fort—the endless surprises and stratagems to which he had recourse evinced an inventive and daring genius, which made him the model of a successful warrior in any age and country.

Aurungzebe and Sivaji were nearly of the same age, and in many points displayed a marked similarity of character. Both were energetic, crafty, and ambitious, and both stern bigots to their respective creeds. Aurungzebe did all that Mahomet could have himself desired to extend the creed of the Moslem; while Sivaji, styling himself "the Champion of the Gods," made it his especial boast to protect "Brahmin's Kine and Cultivators," and to preserve from insult all Hindoo temples[1].

In January, 1664, Sivaji resolved to make an attempt

[1] Sullivan.

upon Surat, the chief port of the Mogul Empire, called the Port of Mecca, because from thence the pilgrims took ship to visit their "Holiest of Holies." This was a deadly insult as well to the Emperor as to every true son of the Prophet, and may well be supposed to have determined Aurungzebe to take strong measures for the annihilation of the bold assailant. This place was the residence of some of the richest merchant princes in the world, and perfectly overflowed with the wealth of Araby and the East. The city was given over to be plundered at leisure for six days, with an unusual and somewhat insulting refinement of *loot*. The Dutch and English factories, which had been unmolested by the Mussulman, were effectively cleared out.

1664. — Surat taken and plundered by Sivaji.

The indignant Aurungzebe sent a considerable force, in 1665, as well under Jey Singh, Rajah of Ambeer, as under Chaest Khan, who was especially directed to exterminate the freebooter. The troops of Sivaji were driven from the field, and his country was plundered. In the spring of 1666 Chaest Khan occupied Poonah, where the Mahratta had grown up to manhood. At the time of this invasion Sivaji was forty miles distant, and on hearing of it meditated an exploit that was so congenial to the temper and enterprise of his people, that to this day they celebrate it as the most chivalrous act of the great Mahratta chief. Accompanied by fifteen trusty horsemen, he rode direct to the city in one night; and in the morning they all, disguised as minstrels, succeeded in joining a marriage procession that was allowed to enter the fort to visit a famous shrine sacred to Siva. Once within the gates, they made their way to the palace, where Chaest Khan was reposing in his harem; but he himself, although surprised, escaped with the loss of his hand, to be assassinated by Sivaji the year following. Poorunder, a mountain fortress eighteen miles from Poonah, a place of security in which the archives of government were

1665. Romantic and daring enterprise of Sivaji at Poonah.

1666.

1666. kept, and where the women and treasure of Sivaji had been placed, was besieged by Jeh Singh. It was reduced to the last extremity, when the Mahratta chief presented himself unarmed at one of the outposts of the Imperial camp, and demanded to be conducted to the general.

Sivaji is entrapped by Aurungzebe, but escapes by a clever stratagem.

Professing penitence, he craved the pardon of the Emperor, and offered to resign twenty forts, and to serve in the war against the Persians. He was invited by Aurungzebe to visit the capital, and fearlessly obeyed the Imperial mandate, accompanied by his son. He entered Agra with all the pomp he could command, and with a retinue mounted on horses richly caparisoned. The whole city came out to meet him; but when he reached Delhi he found that he was only brought there in order that the Emperor might humble and disgrace him in the eyes of his people. When presented at the Musnud he was very coldly received, and placed among a crowd of inferior Omrahs. The proud chieftain was affected with this humiliation to such a degree that he wept and swooned, shedding tears arising from mingled feelings of shame, indignation, and vengeance. Nevertheless his demeanour before the Emperor was so fearless and haughty that it is said that a daughter of Aurungzebe, who witnessed the scene from behind a curtain, fell straightway in love with the intrepid captive, who openly upbraided the Emperor with his treachery. It is said that the Princess's intercession saved him from the fury of the offended monarch, who did not punish the bold speaker with death, but contented himself with commanding him to be put in irons. But the Mogul, with all his power and his craft, was no match for the wily Mahratta, who meditated and with great address contrived the means of escape in a manner essentially Oriental. After a few months of restraint, he feigned sickness, saw the doctor, and acted the invalid. But, after a time, pretending to be recovering, he distributed

his alms to a number of poor, who crowded to the gate of his prison in considerable numbers. On Thursdays he gave out great quantities of sweetmeats, which were brought from the city in large baskets, requiring three or four men to carry them, and when emptied they were sent back to the confectioners, until, when the frequency of the act had made it cease to attract attention, he brought his confidants with the baskets into his apartments, where, emptying out the sweetmeats, he and his son got into the baskets, and were carried forth out of the city, when, in the disguise of beggars, they proceeded towards Muttra. There, feeling much fatigued, Sivaji ventured to purchase a horse, but, in paying for it, incautiously opened a purse of gold. As his escape had been already noised about the neighbourhood, the owner of the horse, seeing so much money in the hands of a beggar, exclaimed, "Surely thou must be Sivaji." The Mahratta, throwing down the purse, mounted the horse and pushed on with the utmost speed to the sacred shrine of Juggernauth, "the Lord of the World," one of the incarnations of Krishna, and here, where stood the magnificent temple that had consumed the whole revenue of India for years, he sought and obtained sanctuary.

1666.
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From this time Sivaji assumed royal titles, and struck coins with his own image and superscription. The rancour of religious animosity which had divided him and Aurungzebe was now converted into personal hatred. In 1669 Surat was again plundered, and heavy contributions were levied at Bejapore and Golconda. Several Mogul generals were successively sent against Sivaji, but returned disgraced by the ill success of their campaigns. With a view to confine him to his own defence, Aurungzebe ordered vessels to be built in the ports of Cambay and Surat, which were to make descents on the coast of the Concan. Sivaji despatched in 1672 a general, with 10,000 horse, to Surat, to burn the ships which had been built there by

1669.
Surat is again plundered.

1672. — the order of Aurungzebe. In this project he failed; but he closely blockaded the town, and levied a considerable sum as ransom. Assisted by the Siddees, Sivaji collected a fleet of eighty vessels, and made a nautical expedition down the coast of Malabar; but the sea was an element that was strange to him, and, as soon as he returned to land, his tutelary deity wisely forbade him ever again to tempt fickle fortune on the ocean.

Sivaji storms Rajapoor, and takes Satarah and Pondah: his enthronement.

But this disappointment only served to increase the exertions of Sivaji to extend his conquests along the coast. He carried the town of Rajapoor by storm, where there was a port at which the English had a factory, which suffered a loss estimated at 10,000 pagodas. In 1673 he invested the strong and important fortress of Satarah, and extended his conquests beyond Goa. He took the fortress of Pondah either by assault or treachery. He burnt Carwar, and carried his conquests into the kingdom of Canara. It was in vain that Aurungzebe sought from his deputy at Agra to bring the marauder to terms: he baffled all pursuit, and when least expected turned round upon his pursuers, and assailed whole divisions with success. But while engaged in operations so distant from his capital, a Mogul army under Bahadur Khan laid waste his territories. Sivaji nevertheless ordered preparations for his enthronement as Monarch of the Concan in April, 1674. He employed a month to satisfy the Brahmins to allow him the religious rites of an absolute and undoubted prince of the Cshatrya caste, for they even had the boldness to dispute his lineage from the ancient Rajpoot families of India. These genealogical flaws were only to be removed by fabulous concession. He was called upon to be publicly weighed against gold; and the amount, equal to 112lbs. avoirdupois, was given to the priest, who then proclaimed him "His Majesty the Rajah," "Seva, Possessor and Lord of the Royal Umbrella." The

ceremony of his enthronement was magnificent: an envoy from the English colony at Bombay assisted at it. The envoy was politely received; and eighteen of the twenty Articles demanded were, after some discussion, admitted. But one, requesting that the currency of Bombay should be received in the new Monarch's dominions, was dismissed with this observation from Sivaji, that he could not compel his subjects to take foreign money. The whole transaction is so far remarkable, that it was the first negotiation in which the English and the Mahrattas were brought into contact. 1674. —

In 1677 Bahadur Khan, Aurungzebe's general, having been defeated in two severe encounters with the troops of Bejapoor, Sivaji had no difficulty in obtaining the Emperor's consent to an unmolested passage for his army through the territories of the Mogul on the payment of 400,000 pagodas, with his homage of fealty. But the career of Sivaji was now drawing near its close, and he does not appear to have had any further war with Aurungzebe. He expired at Rairee, from an inflammation in the chest, on the 5th April, 1680. His funeral-pile was honoured with all the grandeur that the Brahmins could devise,—animals, attendants, and wives being burnt with the corpse. At the time of his death Sivaji's dominions extended over a territory in the Deccan upwards of 400 miles long, by 120 miles in breadth; and, removed at a distance from the Mahratta Government by an interval of 300 miles, he was in possession of half the Carnatic, which comprised an empire that was a formidable rival to that of the Great Mogul himself; for, in addition to the power thus held under his sword, or sceptre, every native prince from the Nerbudda to Tanjore, and from the Corea to Madras, had to purchase the friendship or neutrality of Sivaji; so that the influx of gold that found its way to Rairee was so incessantly in one 1677.

Death of Sivaji: extent of his conquests.

1680. direction, that "the caves of Rairee" became a proverb to denote a depository from which nothing was to be obtained back again.

Aurungzebe saw in the death of the Mahratta chief the removal of one great obstacle to his bright resolve to extirpate the Hindoo faith, and could not repress the joyful dilation of his heart on hearing of his decease; although he bore this significant testimony to his military genius: "He was a great captain; and the only one who had the power to raise up a new kingdom in India. My armies have been employed against him for nineteen years, and nevertheless his

1681. state has been continually increasing." A few months after Sivaji's death, Aurungzebe was released, in 1681, from another dangerous antagonist,—Jeswunt Sing, the renowned Rajah of Jodpore, who by his marriage with the daughter of the Rajah of Chitore, had become chief of the Rajpoots, and was distinguished by the name of Maha-Rajah. He died at Brampore on his way to Delhi, not without suspicion of having been poisoned by the Emperor. He is remembered in history as the most eminent of all the Hindoos for his personal qualities and literary accomplishments. Aurungzebe had professed great friendship for Jeswunt, but his real feeling was one of intense hatred, for it is said, in a sort of proverb, "Sighs never ceased to rise from Aurungzebe's heart while Jeswunt lived."

Death of Jeswunt Sing.

Revolt of Akbar: his junction with Sambajee.

Akbar, a son of Aurungzebe, revolted at this very juncture from his father's standard, and, escaping from Agra, threw himself into the arms of Sambajee, the son and successor of Sivaji, as chief of the Mahrattas, who received him with extraordinary honour. The Emperor, with great judgment, conceded peace to the Rajpoot States, and set three distinct armies in motion to extinguish this dangerous confederacy. In September, Aurungzebe removed from Ajmeer towards Brampore, while an army commanded by Sultan Azim crossed the Nerbudda towards Ahmednuggur, and another under

another leader moved on Aurungebad. Month after month, and year after year, a long, bloody, and indecisive war continued. Aurungzebe took up his residence at Ahmednuggur, not daring to withdraw from the scene of action. His youngest son was serving against him in the ranks of the Mahrattas, and had been even proclaimed Emperor by them; while he was both jealous and afraid of his eldest son, Shah Alum. Between four and five years had been thus fruitlessly occupied, when Aurungzebe determined on the completion of the scheme that had been commenced by his father—the reduction of all India under his sovereign sway. 1681. —

In 1686 the Emperor advanced from Ahmednuggur with an immense army, and joined at Sholapore the forces of his favourite son Azim, Soubahdar of Guzerat, to whom he wished to give the honour of completing a conquest that had become no longer doubtful. The army of his eldest son was in the mean time sent to attack the King of Golconda. The Mogul gold had been so well employed at Bejapore, that the Secunder Adil Shah found himself disabled by the desertion of his troops from keeping the field, and he retired to his capital, which soon surrendered, and he withdrew into a strong fort, which was reduced by famine to a capitulation; when the unfortunate monarch was brought before his conqueror in silver chains as a captive rebel, on the 14th September, 1687. By the submission of this vanquished sovereign, the last of a long line of powerful princes ended, and his dynasty terminated. Sultan Akbar, convinced that he could no longer maintain his independence after the fall of Bejapore, with the concurrence of his protector Sambajee, embarked on board an English vessel, and fled to the Court of Ispahan. Sultan Manzum, equally fortunate, possessed himself of Hydrabad by the surrender of the general opposed to him, and made a treaty with the King of Golconda. Aurungzebe, now

1686. Aurungzebe attempts the subjugation of the whole of India.

1689. released from all anxiety on the score of Bejapore and the flight of his son Akbar, marched against Golconda, repudiated the treaty that had been concluded by his ally, and put the King and his son into prison. The former was treated with the most contumelious indignity; and it has been asserted that he had even been scourged, to extort from him a discovery of his treasures. Abou Houssein died a prisoner at Dowlatabad in 1704; and with him terminated a dynasty that had existed for nearly two centuries. The Mahratta Sovereign was now left to contend single handed against the whole power of the Mogul Emperor. Aurungzebe resolved to overcome him by his accustomed policy of duplicity and cruelty. Sambajee was surprised, overpowered, and brought a prisoner before him. It was proposed to him to turn Moslem, which he indignantly refused, and he was in consequence exposed to the most brutal insult; his tongue was cut out, as a penalty for his blasphemous rejection of the Prophet, and he was finally put to death by having his heart cut out from the side of his body and given to the dogs! It was even said that the Emperor presided in person over this outrageous and disgusting act.

Aurungzebe causes the temples of Brahma to be destroyed: opposition of the Sikhs: subjugation of the Carnatic, 1700.

Aurungzebe, whether instigated by the sanguinary bigotry of the Moslem creed, or masking an ambitious policy under a show of religious zeal, never lost sight of his cherished project of enforcing the conversion of the Hindoos throughout the Empire by the severest measures. The ancient temples of Brahma at Muttra and Benares were pulled down by order of the Emperor, and on their ruins mosques were erected. At Ahmedabad there was a pagoda of singular beauty, the sculptures of which were defaced, and the sanctuary was miserably desecrated by the slaughter of a cow within its walls. And at length a heavy contribution, called a capitation, was levied upon the entire Empire, as a bounty upon their conversion to the creed of Mahomet. This at length caused a war in a new

quarter. The Sikhs had been converted by the persecution of Aurungzebe into fierce and armed fanatics. The Mahrattas were encouraged in consequence to new efforts; but, eluding direct rencounters, they issued from the mountains, renewing their old depredations, carrying off great plunder, and leaving the country behind them in the most dreadful state of devastation. The Mahrattas so enriched themselves at the expense of the Imperial dominions, that they attracted to their camp the discontented of every degree, and the advantages of the war fell entirely to their side. Nevertheless the Carnatic was eventually subjugated in 1700, which completed the measure of the Mogul conquests, and rendered the rule of the descendants of Timour paramount throughout the whole of India. 1700. —

Extent and opulence of the Mogul empire: its incipient decline.

This empire was exceeded in extent by few that had ever been collected under one sceptre, and probably by none in population and wealth. The annual revenue has been estimated at thirty three millions sterling, which is about equal to that of British India at the present time. The population is probably very much greater now than it was in the days of the Great Mogul, because human life is regarded as more sacred The administration of Aurungzebe was vigorous only for war, and could never be compared in point of efficacy with one that is made to flourish in a time of profound peace.—But it is now time to speak of its decline under our great hero. He was already suffering under the infirmities of an age that had already exceeded fourscore years. He was of too advanced an age to be able to direct in person a war against a foe so restless and alert as the Mahratta. His jealous policy made him afraid to trust with the command of provinces the more powerful Omrahs, who maintained numerous troops; and accordingly he made choice of persons without reputation or power, who plundered for their own advantage the provinces they were sent

1707. — to protect. Although no diminution of prosperity clouded the declining years of Aurungzebe, they were embittered by the anticipation of the storms for which he foresaw his death would be the signal; and we possess the dying confessions of a conqueror. He is said to have addressed, on his death-bed, the following letter to his favourite son Azim:—"Health to thee! My heart is near thee; old age is arrived; weakness subdues me; strength has forsaken all my members. A stranger came I into the world: a stranger I depart. The instant which has passed in power has left only sorrow behind it. I have not been the guardian and protector of the Empire, for my time has been passed vainly. * * * * Life is not lasting; there is no vestige of departed breath; and all hopes of futurity are lost. * * * * I have a dread for my salvation, and with what torments I may be punished."

Aurungzebe's dying address to his son.

Death of Aurungzebe, 21st February: subsequent rise of the Mahrattas.

At length on Friday, the 21st February, 1707, in the 90th year of his age, and in the 48th of his reign, Aurungzebe was seized with a fever that terminated an existence that had been perhaps as eventful in war and conquest as any recorded in history. Nearly a century's duration of human life, and half a century's absolute dominion, ought to have produced fruits of some endurance: but the rankness of a government of absolute power brought forth nothing but anarchy and confusion; and the moment of the greatest exaltation of the Mogul was also that of rapid decay and impending dissolution. A succession of nominal sovereigns, sunk in debauchery, sauntered their lives away in secluded palaces, amidst the fondling of concubines and the speech of buffoons. In less than a century from the death of Aurungzebe, the Great Mogul had fallen under the power of the Mahrattas, and was reduced to a condition miserable in the extreme; while the blood shed by the conqueror for the establishment of the faith of Mahomet has fallen upon the earth like water; and the Moslem and the Hindoo

are still as irreconcilable to each other throughout India as the Christian who now holds both under his control. 1707. —

The traveller Gemelli, who saw Aurungzebe at Bejapore in 1695, gives a pleasing description of his venerable appearance:—"In stature he was rather below the middle size, of a slender make, an olive complexion, with an aquiline nose, and a white beard. He walked leaning on a staff, like a crozier, for age had in some degree bowed his back, though it had not dimmed the lustre of his eye. His countenance was benign, and his manner affable. His dress was always plain and simple. In camp he was the most indefatigable man in his army: the first to rise, and the last to retire to rest; and he generally slept on the bare ground, wrapped in a tiger's skin. He was remarkably clean both in his person and dress. His diet consisted for the most part of herbs and pulse: no fermented liquor ever passed his lips. He spent little time in his seraglio." He possessed an undaunted resolution and a personal intrepidity that never wavered. When considerations of ambition did not intervene, his rule was ever mild and clement; but to attain an object every feeling of justice, honour, and mercy was postponed to his own gratification.

Personal appearance and character of Aurungzebe.

The Great Mogul Aurungzebe occupies an analogous position in Oriental history to that which Louis XI. holds in that of the West. Religious severity was deemed "to do God service." Craft and resolute unforgiveness were the characteristics of both in all the relations of domestic life: and they paralyzed their foes by this unscrupulous energy as well as by their deceit. Both were selfishly cruel, and well versed in the art of dissimulation. They neither allowed a generous impulse ever to thwart the allurement of any object, nor a merciful thought to temper an absolute will, nor a thrill of compunction to arrest them in their course. Both were ascetic by nature, and hypo-

Historical parallel between him and Louis XI.

1707. critical by policy, and the most venomous craft was united with the most merciless ferocity.

We may conclude this account with a characteristic anecdote of the craft and cupidity of this inborn tyrant. For the purposes of aiding his deep religious hypocrisy, even in his youth he cultivated a close acquaintance with the Faquirs, into which community he at length obtained admission. He had no difficulty in discovering that, under the guise of poverty and beggary, these cenobites amassed much wealth, which they always carried about with them. Aurungzebe took advantage, therefore, of some occasion to invite them to a feast, at which, when their hearts were merry, he chafed them for the wretchedness of their apparel, and in a playful mood proposed to supply every one of them with a new and decent garment. They stubbornly resisted such an innovation; but notwithstanding their earnest entreaties to the contrary, he ordered his followers to bring in the new dresses, and forced them then and there to change the apparel, directing the old clothes to be at once carried away and burned. Among the embers were now discovered a prodigious number of gold and silver pieces which these sturdy beggars had hoarded, and it was said that this "haul" was the nucleus of the great wealth which from other quarters came into his net, and which enabled him to act more efficiently than his brothers did when they all took the field against his father[2].

[2] Histories of India,—Orme, Dow, and Maurice; The Conquerors of India, by Sir Edward Sullivan; the Modern Traveller in India; Biographie Universelle; Militair Conversations Lexikon.

OTTO FERDINAND TRAUN, COUNT OF ABENSBERG.

IMPERIAL FIELD MARSHAL.

Born 1677. Died 1748.

It is generally stated that our hero was of Bavarian origin; but, on inquiry, I learn that there is no noble or ancient family of the name of Traun in that kingdom. At the same time Abensberg is a town and castle on the river Abens, near the Danube, fifteen miles from Ratisbon, and situated in Lower Bavaria. It is probable that Otto Ferdinand Traun was the son of Ernest Count of Abensberg, a general of artillery, and Vice-Kriegs-President, who died in 1685, and whose name I have met with in history; but all that has been recorded of the youth of our subject is, that he was at first destined for a civil or administrative career, and with this object was sent to the High School of the University of Halle; but at the death of his father he left school, and entered the Brandenburg

1677. His family, and early education.

1695. contingent of the Imperial army as a volunteer. He was present at the famous siege of Namur in 1695, when William III., King of England—in sight of a French army under Maréchal Villeroy, directed by the famous Dutch engineer Coehorn—triumphed over his rival antagonist Vauban; and, in spite of the glorying inscription placed over the gate by Louis XIV. in 1692, "Restored it may be, captured it never can be," Traun had the gratification to witness its surrender to the allied army in which he served, after a siege of sixty-seven days.

Serves under Stahremberg, by whom he is made Colonel, 1704: serves in Spain.

In the War of the Succession, 1702—1708, he obtained distinction in the army commanded by the Count Von Stahremberg, as General-Adjutant; and his merits had the good fortune to receive the recognition of the Archduke Charles, who, in 1704, made him Colonel, when he was only twenty-seven years of age. He continued to serve with Stahremburg, "The Grand Captain," who gave him the command of the so-called Echish infantry regiment, under the honourable condition that he should continue to serve in Spain under him; and this he did till that General quitted the Peninsula in consequence of the Neutralitats-Tractat. It is related that when the English General Stanhope, deceived by the boyish air of Traun, asked Stahremberg "who the young man was who was in command of the regiment," the cold but astute reply of the Field-Marshal was, "That young man will command armies."

1713. Is wounded at Francavilla, 20th June, 1719.

Traun quitted Barcelona with the Field-Marshal, and followed in his army to Genoa in 1713. While he continued in Italy he had assigned to him the command of an auxiliary force under General Mercy, which in 1719 proceeded to Sicily, where he was present at the battle of Francavilla, the 20th June, in which he was dangerously wounded. After he recovered from his wound he had a command at Syracuse and at the siege of Messina, and subsequently was constituted Governor-

General of Sicily for the Emperor, when the Spaniards were driven out of the island, the 25th June, 1720. 1733. —

War on the death of the King of Poland, 1733.

In 1733 Europe became anew involved in trouble by a double election, consequent on the death of Augustus II., King of Poland. Stanislaus, whose daughter married Louis XV., had been elected King, and had the support of France, who concluded a treaty with Spain and Sardinia, and agreed to declare war against the Emperor. On the other hand, the Elector of Saxony, son of the deceased King, had been elected to the Polish throne by another faction, and was supported in his pretensions by the Emperor and the Czar. A general war was thus kindled. On the 12th October France sent an army across the Alps, which joined the King of Sardinia at Vigevano on the 29th [1].

Traun's advice respecting the campaign in Italy is overruled: death of Maréchal Villars and the Duke of Berwick.

Traun was consulted by the Imperial government as to the best mode of carrying on the war in Italy, and gave it as his opinion,—to concentrate all the Austrian troops that were scattered through the Italian peninsula, and march at once boldly to meet the Infant Don Carlos advancing from Tuscany with a Spanish army consisting of 22,000 men. But it has never been the *forte* of the Empire to evince promptness and energy in the operations of war. Germany could not move so quickly, nor appear so rash as to adopt Traun's counsel, but, with the mixed tempo-

[1] This war, commenced on the ground of the succession to the Elective Crown of Portugal, has very little further connexion with that kingdom. Stanislaus, unable to resist the Saxon army, supported by Russia, gave up the contest, and shut himself up in Dantzig, from whence he narrowly escaped being taken prisoner, the 28th June, 1734, when he returned to France: he died thirty years afterwards in the Duchy of Lorraine, which he had obtained in the scramble by the aid of his father-in-law, Louis XV., who retained the succession for France. Augustus III. thus found the Polish sceptre safe in his grasp, and kept a magnificent Court at Dresden, living in unbounded pomp and extravagance, until the Seven Years' War disturbed his ignoble repose, and ultimately led the way to the partition of Poland.

1733. rizing, acquisitive feeling of laziness and weakness, scattered her forces about Italy, in order to be enabled to occupy every castle and every fort which her arms had acquired in the Peninsula; but yielding every thing in the end to that same concentrating policy of her adversary which she had failed to adopt when Traun's prescience recommended it. The war thus commenced in Italy was graced with the last sighs of Maréchal Villars and of the Duke of Berwick; the latter of whom was killed at Philipsburg on the 12th June, while the former died on the 17th at Turin; both of them before the campaign began.

Traun's brave stand at San Germano.

The French army was victorious over the Duke of Wirtemberg at Parma on the 29th June, and again at Guartaka on the 19th September; but Traun, having only 3000 men under him, threw himself into the mountain pass of San Germano, at the foot of Mount Cassino, in the Appennines, where he defended the frontier for twenty-three days against a far superior adversary, calling earnestly for reinforcements, which were never granted to his desperate appeals; and, accordingly, he was at last compelled to fall back, in order to unite himself with an Austrian corps at Capua, where, under the protection of fortified walls, he hoped to be able to make a stand against the enemy.

His defence of Capua.

But while the German reliance was established on forts and castles, no care had been taken to put these into a condition of defence. To Traun's great astonishment, he found when he arrived at Capua that it was by no means capable of being maintained even against a *coup de main*, for the walls were dismantled and crumbling. But he was not a man to despond under any disadvantage, but, with a resolute spirit, he availed himself of the time allowed him, and drew freely upon his inexhaustible natural resources to the repair of old walls, and devise the construction of new works, such as might enable him to make a de-

termined and persevering resistance. The Count di Visconti, who was viceroy for the Emperor in the south of Italy, assembled the militia of the country and collected some troops, in order to form a camp at Barletta, on the Neapolitan shore of the Adriatic; but the Duke de Montemar marched against him with a commanding force, and on the 25th May brought him to action, and defeated him, at Bitonto, near Bari. Traun was accordingly left isolated on the opposite shore of the kingdom. Nevertheless he kept heart, and caused outworks to be constructed at Capua that might cover his men and even facilitate occasional sallies; and he kept himself on the alert so as to obtain provisions and ammunition, and some addition to his military chest. On one occasion he induced a pursuit against his troops which brought the pursuers under a masked battery, where the enemy were exposed to a terrible slaughter. During the night of the 21st September he moved out of Capua with 500 or 600 men, with some guns which he kept concealed, and began to dig as though he intended the construction of an earthwork. The bait took, and he was attacked by 1500 Spaniards. A brief skirmish ensued, when, the outposts falling back, they were followed to a place where his guns opened upon the enemy so incessant a cross fire, that they were bewildered, and made their escape, leaving 500 dead on the field.

1734. —

Constituted Feldzeugmeister.

The Spaniards continued, nevertheless, to be every where successful. The strong fortress of Pesaro in the Abruzzi capitulated; and the stronger fortress of Gaeta fell, without the loss of a man, in the siege in August. Still Traun kept his flag flying till the 24th November, when he was at length obliged to surrender, but not before he had won from his besiegers the most honourable terms, and permission to retire with all the honours of war. The Neapolitan general Colletto leaves on record this eulogium, "that he found the magazines were empty, and the hos-

1734. pitals full." If it was Traun's misfortune to yield a fortress to his Emperor's enemies, his defence added so much to his military fame, that his sovereign named him Feldzeugmeister,—a rank of which there is none corresponding to it in the English or French service, but it is about equivalent to Senior General of Infantry, and only inferior to that of Field-Marshal, the highest in the scale of Austrian military honours.

1735. Quells disturbances in Hungary: is made Imperial Field-Marshal.

In 1735 Traun was sent into Hungary to quell some new revolt that had broken out in that kingdom. He encountered the leaders in a forest near Arad, where he made a severe example of them, and eventually, partly by tact and partly by mildness, he put down the insurrection, and was rewarded, on his return in 1736, by his nomination to be Commander-in-Chief and President Viceroy in the Dukedom of Milan; and in 1737 Parma, Piacenza, and Mantua were still further added to his government. In 1740, before the death of the Emperor Charles VI., Traun was raised to the dignity of Imperial Field-Marshal, and was recognized as the first man of the day for sagacity in the field and determination in government.

In the above year the death of the Emperor Charles VI. again brought all the armies of Europe into the arena of battle, and then—

> "Fair Austria spreads in vain her mournful charms,
> The Queen—the beauty—sets the world in arms."

Field-Marshal Traun, in the capacity of Imperial representative of Lombardy, received the homage of the Italian Dukedoms on behalf of Maria Theresa on the 21st January, 1741. Three weeks previously Frederick II. of Prussia had unscrupulously commenced the war, and had taken possession of the province of Silesia, with twenty battalions and thirty-six squadrons.

Traun defeats the

Field-Marshal Traun immediately assumed the command of the Austrian and Sardinian troops in Italy,

and he established his head-quarters in February, 1742, at Modena; for it was the admitted rule of the day that Italy should be the stage on which the quarrel should be played out, although the cause of the war was wholly foreign to its people. The Duke of Montemar commanded the Spanish army, with which he took up a position on the Panaro facing the Imperialists, but had not taken action before the Count de Gages arrived to supersede him. This general attempted to penetrate into Tuscany, but was prevented by the vigilance of Traun; and after some manœuvring both armies took up winter quarters. The Imperialists were distributed in the Bolognese, and the Spaniards in the Duchies of Modena and Parma; but in mid-winter orders were sent to De Gages to give battle to the Austrians in three days; and the Spanish general, who desired to escape the same fate that had visited his predecessor, prepared to obey the haughty mandate of his sovereign with spirit and address. He knew that the Austrian army little dreamt of an attack upon them in the inclement season of the year. He therefore covertly brought up his troops out of their cantonments, and, to veil his intentions, he amused the people of Bologna by giving a ball on the 7th February, during which the intention of their general to attack the enemy in the morning was abruptly made known to them. It was quite an affair like the eve of Waterloo:—

1742. — Spaniards: declines to attack the kingdom of Naples: resigns his command.

"There was a sound of revelry by night;"

and as there, the officers stole away from their dissipation to join their men, already in order of march, who were stealthily moving to catch Marshal Traun napping. The Spaniards had taken every precaution, by carefully guarding all means of egress, to prevent any intimation of their intentions from reaching the enemy.

But nevertheless our Field-Marshal had a friend in

1743. their camp, who, at the risk of his life, escaped to him, — and gave him warning. He was at once aroused to the imminence of his danger, for he was not a man to be caught asleep at his post, and when once apprised, spared neither mental nor bodily exertion to meet the danger, but mounted his horse, assembled his army, inflamed their ardour by word and deed, and threw himself into the bloodiest mid-mêlée to meet the attack which came so suddenly upon him. Two horses—one immediately after the other—were shot under him, when he sprang upon a third, and repulsed near Camposanto the Walloon infantry, although it greatly outnumbered his own. The victory would have been more complete but that his cavalry had suffered severely in their matutine exertions to repel the surprise; and Traun was consequently unable to follow up his success, although the Spaniards, in consequence of their defeat, lost 3000 men,—an amount equal to half their army. The Piedmontese General, the Count d'Aspremonte, was killed; and so were two generals on the side of the Imperialists. The Count de Gages recrossed the Panaro, and, retreating rapidly from Bologna, marched to Rimini, where he took up his camp and fortified it. He deserved but little credit for his dispositions in the battle, which he had fought but badly; but it was only to satisfy the Court of Madrid that he fought it at all, and with no pre-considered plan of any splendid result. Traun established his head-quarters at Carpi, from whence he defended the passage of the Panaro with fresh renown.

Both the opposing generals were victimized by home criticism. It was the fiery temper of the Queen of Spain that urged De Gages to attack at Camposanto; and now Traun was beseiged by exhortations from Vienna to march away for the invasion of the kingdom of Naples. No distant administration can ever safely direct the movements of an army in the field; and the Aulic Council of Vienna, in its whole

history, is the worst example of the constant attempt at interference. Should the general who has the command disappoint his employers, there is the easy remedy of recalling him, and placing a more acceptable general in his stead: but in military command no distant interference is tolerable. Our Field-Marshal refused to adventure his army into a hostile and difficult country, where he had no base on which to establish either his strategy or his supplies, and he proved his intelligence and honesty by distinctly refusing the advice. It is probable that the opinion entertained at Vienna of the proposed operations against Naples was shared in by the Sardinian King, as the Commander-in-Chief of the Sardinian army remonstrated with the Field-Marshal on his refusal. Accordingly Traun resolved to resign his Italian command, which he had conducted with ability and success, and Count Lobkovitz succeeded under the Imperial Commission, and in 1744 carried the war into the kingdom of Naples; but by the end of the year the Count had great difficulty in escaping from the pursuit of De Gages, and he was glad to re-establish his army in nearly the same quarters as those he held when he took over the command from Field-Marshal Traun. 1743. —

On his return to Vienna Traun was most graciously received by the Queen, Maria Theresa, who assured him of her favour, saying to him, "I think of you as I do of every honest man," and bestowed upon him the order of The Golden Fleece,—the highest honour at that time with which the Imperial throne dignified a subject. In January, 1744, he was made General-in-Chief in Bohemia and Moravia. Frederick the Great had invaded Silesia in 1741, and had gained the victory of Molwitz over the Austrian General Neipperg, and at Czaslau, in 1742, where he had overcome Prince Charles of Lorraine. But on the other hand, one French army, under Maréchal de Belleisle and another under De Is again employed.

1744. Broglie, had been driven out of Bohemia by the Imperialists, and narrowly escaped capture at Prague; while 16,000 Frenchmen under the Comte de Segur actually entered into terms with Count Khevenhüller, at Linz[2], whose enterprising spirit assisted Prince Charles of Lorraine, and checked the tide of adverse war against the Austrians. This distinguished officer, however, died on the 26th January, 1744, and it was deemed desirable that a successor of competent military reputation should be sent to occupy that great adviser's place, as councillor and assistant to the Austrian Commander-in-Chief. Accordingly Traun became chief of the staff and military *adlatus* to Prince Charles, whose fate it was always to be defeated whenever he commanded, excepting when Khevenhüller, Browne, or Traun was *adlatus* or dry nurse to him. Yet the same pseudo-aristocratic policy of the Empire continued the young General in the supreme command.

Appointed *adlatus* to Prince Charles of Lorraine.

Notwithstanding that the bestowal of such a high appointment as Traun now received is the most convincing proof of the esteem in which he was held at head-quarters, yet it is remarked by Frederick the Great that Austria treated her distinguished subject very ungratefully in this manner of rewarding him, because he was always placed in the background, so that not the slightest mention was ever made of him in the public reports. Prince Charles of Lorraine was brother of Francis, the husband of the Queen; but he was utterly incompetent for high military command, and "knew much better how to take care of himself at table and the bottle than in the field." It was necessary, therefore, to give him such coadjutors as these distinguished men, although his royal name has been transmitted to posterity with the credit of their

[2] Segur's unfortunate wife was received, on making her appearance at the theatre of Paris, with derisive cries of "Linz," "Linz," and actually died of shame and terror under them.

measures. The same remark that has been attributed above to the King of Prussia is endorsed by the Austrian official historian Schlosser,—"that the Court party in the year 1744 behaved with great injustice to the valiant Traun; although the Queen always acted as if she placed her entire reliance on him." 1744.

Field-Marshal Traun joined the army of Prince Charles at the camp of Heilbron, on the Neckar, in April, 1744. It was from 40,000 to 60,000 strong, and was opposed to a French army under Maréchal de Coigny, who was posted with his principal force on the Queich, with the Bavarian army, under Marshal Seckendorf, on the side of Philipsburg, which well watched the banks of the Rhine from Mentz to Fort Louis. The operation which Traun suggested to Prince Charles was, to carry the Austrian army across the Rhine, in spite of this apparently insurmountable difficulty; but he confided his plan to no one else but General Franz Nadasti. He first ordered forward detachments towards Ketsch and Stockslast, between Spire and Manheim, while General Bärnklau (or Perklö) threw a bridge across the Rhine at Gemmersheim, by way of demonstration, as though a passage would be forced across the river at this point. The Maréchal de Coigny accordingly sent Seckendorf with the Bavarians across the Rhine from Lauterbourg, while he marched the French army to Worms and Frankenthal. Traun immediately availed himself of the great gap of river shore that intervened between the two armies to despatch Nadasti across the stream; 2000 Croats, under the command of the famous partisan Baron de Trenck, in consequence crossed the river in flat-bottomed boats, and surprised three regiments of Bavarians posted near Schaidt, who, astounded at so unexpected an appearance, took to a precipitate flight. Nadasti immediately followed up this success with 9000 hussars, who crossed upon some pontoon bridges hastily thrown over by Bärnklau. At the news of a passage

The Austrians cross the Rhine: France sends a powerful force against them.

1744. by the enemy Seckendorf hastened to the river bank, but did not dare to attack the cavalry, as he ought to have done, but fell back to obtain the aid of Prince Waldeck's infantry; before however they could arrive he learnt that Coigny had returned to Landau; and he, fearing to be cut off from the French army, hastened to join the Maréchal. No time was lost in enabling General Bärnklau to perfect the pontoon bridges; so that by the 3rd July the whole of Prince Charles's army was effectively transferred to the French side of the Rhine, and, without the loss of a man, instantly occupied the lines of Spire, Gemmersheim, and Lauterbourg. The immediate effect of this most successful operation was to force King Stanislaus to quit Manheim, and to oblige Maréchal de Coigny to concentrate his forces for the protection of Strasburg; while the King of France was no sooner apprised of the Austrians having crossed the Rhine, and established themselves in Lower Alsace, than he despatched the Duke de Noailles with one army, and Maréchal de Belleisle with another, to hasten to the assistance of Coigny; which thus brought three Maréchals of France at the head of 116,000 men, to make head against Prince Charles of Lorraine and Marshal Traun with only 70,000.

Prudent precautions taken by Traun.

The operation of crossing the Rhine in face of such a force was worthy of the name of practical strategy, and is a valuable example of it. All the necessary preparations for the combined movement were patiently considered by Prince Charles, Traun, and Nadasti. The time and place were well discussed, and every expedient that could be thought of was resorted to in order to throw dust into the eyes of the enemy. The difficulty, and almost impossibility, of effecting a passage across a river so vigilantly watched and defended was debated by them in the presence of spies and listeners with a view to their reporting to the enemy the utter apparent despair of a successful passage of the Rhine, while sealed orders were issued to

the principal commanders for their guidance in the proposed operation, accompanied with directions that these should not be opened until the first signal gun should be fired. The secret could not thus escape. Six cannons fired at intervals before the day broke on the 1st July, gave the information to the other corps d'armée, and all obeyed faithfully the signals that carried out this most successful masterpiece of the art of war. 1744. —

The King of Prussia invades Bohemia, and takes Prague: Traun recrosses the Rhine.

Frederick of Prussia had for some time viewed with jealousy the reviving power of Austria, and was impatient of his isolation from the war which was now again raging, although he had obtained full, and even legitimate possession of that Silesia which he had so dishonestly and wantonly coveted. He thought, however, he might gain some new advantage by seizing the critical opportunity when the Austrian dominions were drained of troops, and he was furtively preparing a new spoliation of his victim, the Queen of Bohemia—no less indeed than such another increase to his kingdom as Silesia. Accordingly he despatched Marshal Schmettau on a secret negotiation to Paris, who on the 18th May signed a treaty with Louis XV., and before the fact transpired the King hastened to recommence hostilities. On the 9th August, 1744, he had already entered the Electorate of Saxony with an army; and on the 16th September had carried his army across the Erz-Gebirge, entered Bohemia, besieged and captured Prague, and made himself master of all the kingdom, ostensibly on behalf of the Emperor Charles of Bavaria. This vigorous opening scene of the Second Silesian War appeared as though it would bring this redoubtable rival of Maria Theresa even to the gates of Vienna. Couriers bearing information of these proceedings, and demanding urgent assistance, were successively despatched in all haste to Prince Charles of Lorraine, who, as we have seen, was threatening with his victorious legions the very kingdom of Louis XV.; for

1744. there was no army in the hereditary States that was able to stop the progress of the King of Prussia. The Prince and Marshal Traun stood within sight of the great prize for which they were about to contend, and Strasburg was almost in their grasp, when the necessity of determining this new and imminent crisis in the affairs of their Queen came to be decided at a Council of War, which met on the 21st August.

It was then agreed upon unanimously that the Austrian army should be withdrawn back across the Rhine, and hasten to the preservation of the hereditary domains. But how to carry out this resolve in face of the enemy was a more difficult task than to determine on the attempt. It was easy to foresee that the French would not permit a passage of the river with impunity, but would follow up the first movement of retreat with all their forces, so as to take advantage of a favourable opportunity to fall upon the Austrian army in its manœuvres with superior numbers whenever they might chance to meet with any detachment of them in isolated movements. The moment was most grave, and rendered the most heedful precautions necessary. On the 15th August the heavy baggage defiled to the rear, and on the 21st, before the French could get in movement, the Austrian army had taken up a position behind an affluent of the Zoor, on which they stood in order of battle, resting their left flank at Benheim on the Rhine, near Selz; and on the 23rd they further established their right wing on the buttresses of the Liebfrauberg. It was no pleasant information to learn that Seckendorf, with his Bavarians, was breaking up all the bridges across the Rhine, in order to cut off the return of the Austrians to Germany. However, "the three French Maréchals" made no attempt to interrupt the Imperialists, or to dislodge them from their strong post. But every moment was now of most anxious value; so that, having collected all kinds of boats that would float over

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the stream, and such pontoons as accompanied the army, Traun embarked and carried the army safely across the Rhine in the night of the 23rd; and before the day broke on the 24th the passage of the Rhine was actually accomplished, and the bridges removed. The same day the army marched and were encamped at Ottersdorf, on the right bank of the river; and with incredible expedition the entire army moved away by forced marches, without stopping, to Donnauwerth on the Danube, where it arrived on the 9th September, without having been followed,—the fact being, that the grievous illness of Louis XV. at this moment of time had completely paralyzed all military activity in the French armies. The whole operation was, nevertheless, a perfect masterpiece of military skill; and it was Traun to whom it was due; for he was now invested with the chief command, Prince Charles having quitted the army on reaching the Danube. Our Marshal conducted it across the Ober-Pfalz, and across the Boehmer Wald, until he reached Pilsen on the 22nd September, having accomplished nearly 300 miles in twenty-nine days! He thought it due to his Sovereign to make the Bavarian Emperor pay dearly for his renewed hostility, and unscrupulously laid waste the whole of the Palatinates. The Court of Vienna had, however, already sent an army into Bavaria under General Bathyani, who routed the united Bavarians and French at Pfaffenhofen, taking possession of Rain, and driving their whole army out of the Electorate.

Campaign in Bohemia between the King of Prussia and Traun.

The campaign that now ensued in Bohemia between the King of Prussia and Field-Marshal Traun will be found in some detail in Frederick's "History of his own Times," but scarcely in any form that will be recognized as the antagonism of Field-Marshal Von Traun. Prince Charles is still always spoken of as commanding the Austrians; yet between the return of the army from Alsace in August, 1744, and the campaign of the fol-

1744. — lowing year, when the Prince of Lorraine lost the battle of Hohenfriesberg and Sorr, the events we have to relate occurred in Bohemia, where we have every reason to believe the Prince was not present, having separated from Traun at Donnauwerth. Yet this short intervening campaign is perhaps the most instructive episode in military history. It exemplifies in a most remarkable degree the manner in which, by assuming the initiative with vigour, and maintaining it with resolution, the tables may be effectually turned against an adversary, and, by skilfully overcoming obstacles, and availing himself of the salient advantages of country, a general can display that practical strategy which is so highly to be commended. This campaign has been fully and ably investigated by the American General Watts De Peyster, from whom I have derived the principal portion of the information on which I found my statement. His opinions and details are corroborated by the article in the Militair-Conversations-Lexikon, which gives the biography of Von Traun, and deduces the opinion of the Prussian critics that "It was here that Traun evinced his talent in stratagem against Frederick in the brightest light." Indeed the King himself says, "All the advantages in this campaign were for the Austrians. The conduct of M. de Traun was a model of perfection." I conclude, therefore, that I am fully justified in considering the campaign I am about to relate as Traun's, and not that of Prince Charles of Lorraine.

Natural advantages of the kingdom of Bohemia. The little kingdom of Bohemia has played a considerable part in military history. It is quite a fortress in the midst of Germany. In form an irregular quadrilateral, it is enclosed by four mighty chains of granite mountains. The Erz-Gebirge, on the north-west, separate it from Saxony; the Riesen-Gebirge, or Giant Range, divide it from Silesia on the north-east; the Boehmer Wald swell up between it and Bavaria on the south-west; and, lastly, the Erlitz and Sudetic

connected ridges of mountains, forming part of the great Carpathian chain, are a perfect barrier to Bohemia on the side of Austria and Moravia. The spurs of all these several ranges of lofty mountains run in and together through each other towards Prague as a central point in a network of ridges, peculiarly favourable for military purposes. It has been the probable result of this conformation of country that the metropolis of Bohemia has had the unhappy fatality of being exposed to very frequent sieges, which has not been favourable to its prosperity as a city of commerce. The kingdom is, however, rich in corn and cattle, and it is intersected with abundance of water, so that the land is excellent for pasturage; and there is scarcely any part of it which is not effectively irrigated. Excepting the mountain elevations, which are exposed to the severities of an Alpine winter, the climate is mild and salubrious, enjoying a delightful temperature, with such genial weather, that the grape and all other kinds of fruit attain therein to a great perfection. No country in Europe can therefore be more favourable for campaigning, as well for strategy as for the victualing of troops. A central triangle between the Elbe and the Moldau, in which we shall now accompany Marshal Traun in his successful strategic operations, is nevertheless difficult, because the valleys are subject to overflows of the rivers. But it is to be remarked, that the water shed is all one way, trending to the north, where one single opening through the Erz-Gebirge, near Leutmeritz, carries off the combined flow of the Eyer, the Berain, the Moldau, and their tributaries, and drains the entire face of this little compact kingdom by the great river Elbe. A bird's-eye view of it presents to the student as diversified a country as defence could desire. Large lakes or meres, marshes, streams, rivers, copses, woods, forests, ravines, valleys, heights, isolated hills crowned with old castles, inaccessible mountains, and naked

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1744. stony ridges, all spots where a lieutenant could check a general, and where vigilance and activity might keep war alive for an indefinite period.

On the 13th August, 1744, within one week of Traun's arrival on the Danube, Frederick, accompanied by his brother, Prince Henry, entered Bohemia. Zeitau with the "Life Hussars" had preceded the column, and an amusing anecdote is related of them, that when they encountered on the frontier Esterhazy's Hungarian Hussars, the splendour of their sabretaches excited the cupidity of the more homely clad Prussians, and Zeitau presently found almost all his regiment decorated with the coveted spoils of the Hungarian horse, who were soon routed by their discipline and dash, heightened on this occasion by their acquisitiveness. Bathyany fled before them in haste, altogether unable to stop the King's progress.

1735. Siege of Prague, 10th September, 1744: baffles the King of Prussia.

The King at once laid siege to Prague, with 84,000 men, and spread his army as far as Tabor and Budveis, making all the kingdom east of the Moldau subject to him. Trenches were opened before Prague on the 10th September; and on the 12th the besiegers stormed the Ziska fort, and two dependent redoubts, called "The Swallow-nests." On the 14th three bastions were assailed by a combined attack; so that on the 16th the capital was surrendered by Ogilvie and Count Harsh, the governors; and Vienna trembled, lest the next blow should fall on herself. Traun saw the impending danger, and with his accustomed energy prepared for hard work. His first endeavour was to assemble all the forces he could collect within any reasonable distance of his position. On the 2nd October he united the columns he had brought from Alsace with those of Bathyany near Mirovitz, about fifty miles south of Prague, and half that distance from Budveis and Tabor. He unexpectedly showed himself on the flank of the Prussians near Pisek, and manifested an intention to interpose

his army between Prague and Beneschau, on the Tasava. His light troops, which were very superior in activity and intelligence to those of the King, scoured the country, and cleared it of supplies; which object the Prussian General Janus attempted to prevent, and in so doing was defeated with loss near Muhlhausen. This alarmed the King, who called in his outlying detachments in order to concentrate his army: but he admits himself that he did not do this sufficiently, for he left garrisons at Budweis and Tabor; which did eventually prove a blunder, for Traun immediately fell upon those strong places, and on the 3rd October captured both fortresses, with upwards of 3000 good soldiers in garrison. 1744.

Marshal Traun manœuvres.

Field-Marshal Schwerin was hastily despatched to Benischau: the King himself crossing the Moldau to establish himself at the same place on the 14th October. This obliged Traun to fall back to Clumetz, situated on the Moldau, where he was joined on the 22nd by 20,000 Saxons under the Duke of Saxe-Weissenfels. This addition to his force probably gave Traun a slight numerical superiority to the King, and enabled the confederate Austrian and Saxon army to patrol the country between Prague and the mountains. Frederick thirsted to bring his adversary to battle, and literally waded for ten days through watercourses or paths never before traversed, till on the 24th, at nightfall, he came in sight of his adversaries drawn up in order of battle in position at less than a mile distant. Our Field-Marshal deemed it for his interest to avoid an engagement, as the old, experienced, and reflecting veteran had laid it down as a rule to put little confidence in Fortune; for he would say that a pitched battle is the very steed on which that captivating jade delights to ride. He therefore made his dispositions in the night to carry out this resolve. Accordingly when the King and his principal officers went forth at early morning to reconnoitre the enemy, they

1744. found his camp removed and established in an essentially different position, for it had in the night been lifted so as to stand at Neu Klau, opposite the right flank of the Prussian army, upon an almost precipitous height, commanding a marsh intersected by a stream. The most accurate reconnoissances on the part of the King and his most able adjutants demonstrated that Traun's position was not now susceptible of any advantageous attack. The ground was so intersected with ravines and ditches, that there was no possibility of employing cavalry. The Field-Marshal, however, evinced no life; he did not open a gun, nor "stir a peg." "My grand army which was to have swallowed up Bohemia, and to have overrun Austria, meets with the fate that befell the Invincible Armada of Spain, and is foolmated," was the remark of Frederick. It was impossible for him to remain long without provisions, standing still with 70,000 men in his front.

Still more out of humour than when he advanced, he gave orders to his army to fall back to Pischeli, across the Tasava, on the 26th. But, to his surprise, Traun quitted his inaccessible position and followed close upon his heels, resolving steadily, as it would appear, to put a pressure upon the King, that should force him out of the kingdom: so that when General Nassau was sent forward with a detachment to explore the road to Kolin, he found 8000 Austrians established on a height near Kuttenberg ready to oppose his progress. These manœuvres afford a good example of the plain common-sense of practical strategy, in opposition to Theories of War,—to prove to your enemy, by little incidents, that you are not afraid of him; and to avail yourself, whenever you can, of the advantage of pressing him when he is in retreat; because every one who has seen service knows how the temper, and even the courage of soldiers, are affected according as they are the pursuers or the pursued. Traun not only sent flying parties to alarm the

King for his flanks and his communications, but a strong body of men who stood so as not to be forced also irritated His Majesty in his movements, by day and by night, never allowing him the satisfaction of a fight. Privations and want of supplies soon induced fatigue and sickness in the Prussian army, so that it could not stand any where, but was obliged to move back. The Austrian partisan corps at the same time swarmed around from every quarter, and proved no stingless flies; they followed hard upon the heels of the Prussian army, destroyed their rest, and dogged every movement: they intercepted supplies, and cut off couriers and mails; so that for weeks the King found himself perfectly isolated, not even receiving intelligence of what was passing elsewhere in Europe. 1744. —

Expedients of war on both sides.

Baron Trenck was ubiquitous. Amid rain and pitchy darkness, he was never seen till he was felt. The Prussians were startled at Kolin, which they only reached on the 4th November, by the sound of cymbals and barbarous music; and the next moment the suburb of the city burst into a blaze, while unseen musketry was opened upon the cantonment. At another time the course of a rivulet was turned at midnight; so that in the morning the horses of the cavalry were up to their bellies in water. There was a perfect incapacity, under the necessity of keeping moving, either to resent or to repel these insults. Once or twice Frederick had a narrow escape of being himself taken prisoner as he busied himself with his troops in some of these inroads. The Tasava afforded him no check: the memorable battle-fields of Jannitz and Czaslau offered no shelter. Frederick was impatient to make Traun strike a blow; who, on his side, was gaining victories without fighting or losing a man. Bad weather increased the evils of unremitting fatigue to the pursued in this gipsy life; and no choice was left to the invader but to escape from the net in which he was caught at any sacrifice. This was difficult. If he made up his mind to hold

1744. his ground at Prague, he must give up his communications with Silesia and his own base. If he turned aside by Pardubitz, or Königsgratz, or Josephstadt, to gain the road to Silesia, Prague and all Bohemia were lost. Frederick neglected no expedient to force Traun to accept a battle, or to make a halt; but the Field-Marshal never assumed a position of defence, but trod doggedly upon his opponent's heels night and day; so that the King was perforce obliged to fall back from the pressure that was continually put upon him; and on the 8th or 9th November he cut the Gordian Knot by crossing the Elbe near Kolin and Kuttenberg.

Traun receives orders to cut off the King from Prague.

Traun pulled up at Brelock, where he had established his camp, but now he received peremptory orders from Vienna to push on under any circumstances, and hazard even a crossing of the Elbe, in order to cut off the King from Prague. The operation was a difficult one, and demanded all the tact and experience of our Field-Marshal to accomplish it. The banks of the Elbe, where the river is here driven to make an abrupt elbow against an intrusion of the Moravian hills, rendered of course the stream more confined and consequently stronger, and the banks more defensible. Traun openly canvassed the impossibility of attempting a passage in face of the King's army: and in consequence of his wary speech, Frederick, to whom this language was conveyed, was put off his guard. False manœuvres, as if to attempt a crossing, were made from time to time; and General Nassau was even permitted the opportunityof repulsing an attempted passage at Prieslantsch. The idea that the Austrians might make a dangerous descent upon Prague was thought by the Prussian Generals to be probable; while Traun's real design of crossing the river appears altogether to have escaped Frederick's apprehension. Thus matters rested for ten days. At length, on the night of the 17th November,

the united Austrian and Saxon army were stealthily moved forward to the river bank opposite Temitz. On the previous day some Hulans and Hussars were swum across the stream on their horses, and ordered to conceal themselves in ambuscade in the thick woods that abounded thereabouts, receiving strict injunctions to stop, or shoot down if necessary, any patrols or orderlies that appeared like messengers passing with despatches to the King or any body else, and to employ the most wakeful vigilance day and night in this duty. With the morning light of the 20th the first inkling of a forward movement was made evident by the arrival of the pontoons, and the laying of a bridge opposite Solonitz, over which the most daring volunteers speedily effected a passage, while guns and infantry opened a heavy fire over their heads from the hither bank. Ziethen and his Prussians were, however, soon on the alert, and returned an incessant and heavy fire upon the Hungarian and Saxon volunteers, who nevertheless persevered in the passage. Again and again they were driven back; but resolution at length prevailed in the teeth of fearful slaughter. The battalions of Wedel and Buddenbrock contested the act with Generals Schulenberg and Huxthausen nobly, but at length ineffectually. Ziethen sent repeated messengers to Frederick to solicit more strength; but his messengers were never able to pass the woods; and for five hours, during which several bridges were constructed by General Bärnklau, not a man came, nor a single message or order could reach to or arrive from the King; so that Ziethen's powder being nearly spent, and the energies of his troops exhausted, he commanded a retreat, leaving Traun with the Austrians firmly established across the Elbe. The truth is, that the Hulans so well performed their duty, that the successive messengers, whom during this struggle Ziethen had despatched to His Majesty, were every one of them intercepted; and, although the firing

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1744. — was heard at Kolin and Beckonitz, the absence of any reports from his General satisfied Frederick that it was nothing of any importance.

The Prussians withdraw from Prague.

The successful passage of the Elbe by the Austrians, however, proved of the first importance to the enemy, and deranged all his schemes. As soon as the King was apprised of Traun's success he concentrated all his troops near Wischeniowitz, and called a Council of War. The question was, to determine whether he should establish the army at Prague, and from thence consolidate the occupation of Bohemia,—or whether it would not be better, under the circumstances, to evacuate the kingdom altogether, and carry back the army into Silesia. After some discussion, and on the proposal of Frederick himself, the latter alternative was adopted. Bülow, the King's Aide-de-camp, with much daring, intelligence, and presence of mind, made his way back across the Elbe to General Nassau at Kolin, to carry the King's orders to withdraw; which that General did with great judgment by the way of Bychowitz and Nechanitz. Bülow got access to General Einsiedel, who commanded in Prague, to desire him to make the best of his way to follow the King across the mountains. He found, however, that Prague had already been evacuated on the 20th; but the Governor had in his haste omitted to carry out His Majesty's directions, which were,—to level the works, blow up the walls, destroy the heavy guns, burn their carriages, and throw every stand of small arms he could find in the city into the Moldau, and not to quit the city till all this was accomplished. This neglect of orders brought Einsiedel into such disfavour with his Sovereign, that, although he succeeded in bringing off the garrison to unite with the main army, yet he did not again obtain employment until 1747.

Retreat of the Prus-

The Prussian army now commenced its retreat out of Bohemia in three columns by the passes of Glatz and

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sians out of Bohemia.

Trautenau, and by the narrow pass across the mountains leading to Braunau. The march was impeded by the breaking up of the weather, which rendered mountain-roads difficult: but the Austrians had an affair with the King near Jaromirs on the 27th November; and again the Pandours fell upon the rear-guard near Pleiss. These insatiable plunderers, however, hearing the grunting of hogs in the woods, became instantly more intent on catching and killing bacon for themselves than on running the risk of meeting with more dangerous prey, and so allowed the enemy to get away. By the beginning of December every Prussian had quitted Bohemia; and Frederick remained with his army till it reached Januhausen on the 6th, when he quitted it, and repaired to Berlin. The King, who was always severe in judgment of the faults committed by himself, was never backward in acknowledging the abilities of an adversary; and it is well known, from many remarks scattered up and down in his writings, that he had a special admiration for the Austrian Field-Marshal Von Traun. He says, on this Bohemian campaign, "The conduct of Traun is a model of excellence, which every soldier fond of his profession ought to study, in order to imitate it if he has the ability to do so:" and now, when he was driven out of Bohemia, he remarked, "I might make, with some advantage to myself, a couple of campaigns under Marshal Traun: that is a man indeed!"

1745.

Contest about the election of an Emperor.

In the year 1745 the great European business was the election of an Emperor in the place of "The Bold Bavarian." The House of Austria was intent on securing this for the husband of Maria Theresa, the Grand Duke Franz of Lorraine. Frederick did not consider it below his own ambition to seek to obtain that dignity for himself; and he was promised the assistance of France. The Bavarian army had been worsted, and driven out of the Electorate, on the 19th April; when the young Elector, having listened to the

1745. advice of his Agnates, concluded peace with the Queen of Hungary, and engaged to uphold the Pragmatic Sanction in Germany, and to give his vote to the Grand Duke for Emperor at the ensuing election. The British Cabinet also wished to secure the Crown to him; and thus Hanover sided with the same party, as did also the Elector of Cologne. Nevertheless the agents of France tampered with the other princes of Germany, and used all their influence at Munich to revive the pretensions of Bavaria; while Louis XV., not satisfied with negotiating, sent a powerful army into the field under the Prince de Conti, who forthwith posted it upon the Maine, in order to overawe the deliberations of the Electors at Frankfort. This army was supposed to number 80,000 men. To guarantee freedom of choice in the Electoral College, and to support her own pretensions, the Queen of Hungary despatched Marshal Traun to collect all the troops he could in the circles of Suabia and Franconia, and in Hesse Darmstadt, and march to protect her cause.

Marvellous example of Traun's Practical Strategy.

On the 30th May Traun led his army in three divisions from Neuburg on the Danube into North Wirtemberg. The French army was posted behind the Necker. Traun, without appearing to regard it, marched to Hall, on the Kocher, and thence by Mergentheim, as though he would cross the Maine. The Prince de Conti, on learning the direction taken by the Austrian army, thought to head it by moving in all haste, and by forced marches into Hesse Darmstadt, and encamped on the plains near Umstadt and Obernburg, on the Maine. Bathyani, now acting for Austria under the peace with Bavaria, hastened to join Traun, who by this junction had nearly an equality of force with his adversary. He therefore moved on with the greater confidence, making continual feints of attacking De Conti in his camp at Umstadt, which accordingly the Prince quitted to take post at Aschaf-

fenburg, on the Maine, about twelve miles north-east of Umstadt, and twenty-three miles to the eastward of Frankfort. All at once Traun disappeared from before the French, and was lost to their reconnoissances and *éclaireurs* in the great forest of Aschaffenburg, and behind the screen of the forest-clad Spessart mountains, which here stretch to the northward until they blend into the spurs of the Rhoengebirge. Behind this leafy, hilly shelter, all traces of the enemy became uncertain. At one moment the Austrians were heard of at Wertheim,—at another at Orbe. At length General Bärnclau was found to have passed round the French left, and, with his pontoons, was reconnoitring a place for a bridge across the Rhine at Biberich, just below Mayence. Conti broke up from Aschaffenburg, where he destroyed the bridge, and fell back on Gros Gerau, between Darmstadt and the Rhine, when he heard that Traun had crossed the Maine to offer him battle, with that river behind him, and that Bärnclau had crossed over to the west side of the Rhine, and had had an engagement with a French free corps near Oppenheim, between the French army and France. On receiving this intelligence the Prince de Conti made no further attempts to hold his ground in the vicinity of the Electoral city, but on the 18th July carried his whole army across at Gernsheim, and encamped near Osthofen, not far from the city of Worms. However, he did not rest there long, but again lifted his camp, and retired to Mutterstatt. Traun's cavalry kept close behind the retreating Prince, from whom they succeeded in capturing His Highness's baggage.

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The newly elected Emperor and Maria Theresa visit Traun in his camp.

In consequence of this wonderful effort of practical strategy, Frankfort was no longer threatened. Political reasons may have prevented Traun from following after the French army, as it was now removed out of the way of intimidating the election, and compelled to retire behind the Rhine, in the face of Europe,

1745. without a battle, and with scarcely any spilling of blood. By well-planned marches and the choice of positions alone, the Austrian army stood round Frankfort, and thus the election could be peaceably proceeded with. Traun reported himself to his Queen that his head-quarters were at Heidelberg, and there he awaited the issue. In spite of all the opposition of Louis XV. and Frederick, the Grand Duke Franz attained the Imperial dignity, and on the 8th October, 1745, the new Emperor came forth from the Electoral city as Emperor of Germany to meet his heroic wife, the Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, in the camp of their victorious army, which now, under the illustrious Field-Marshal Von Traun, conducted them back in triumph to Vienna.

Death of Traun, 10th Feb. 1748.

In consequence of the great exertions of Traun's successful campaigns, he received a year's leave of absence to afford some rest to his war-worn body and mind, and by the time that period had expired his active services were no longer required. In recompense of them, however, the chief command of the province of Transylvania was conferred upon him towards the end of the year 1747; but he enjoyed the honour for only a few weeks, as he died at the capital, Hermannstadt, on the 10th February, 1748, in the seventieth year of his age.

Traun's general character, and eminent military talents.

It is most refreshing to meet with a Warrior such as Traun, who is the bright example of a highly educated and experienced commander of an army in the field. He extinguishes at once those pretenders who would lay down theoretic rules of action, by openly exhibiting an unfettered practice of all the most obvious qualities of a leader of troops. In Field-Marshal Von Traun we have a man who had earned half a century's experience, with the intelligent knowledge how to employ it, and had been eminently successful, from first to last, against the greatest odds, with the most inadequate means. He exhibits, there-

fore, an example in history which deserves the most careful study on the part of military students. The character of his warfare was patient circumspection, which always sought to obtain its object without the last resource of a battle; and in this he succeeded to an extent that has never been attained by any other leader of an army. Stratagem, which was his forte, although an almost forgotten expedient with the theorists, does, in fact, constitute one of the principal branches of the art of war; and it has been practised in all ages by the most eminent Generals in a way that has justly advanced their military reputation. Add to this those many little expedients and devices which should be in the mind of every General. These things have been termed Practical Strategy, and indeed there can be no other; for war is so essentially practical, that nothing theoretical respecting it can ever be tolerated. We esteem old soldiers on account of their experience, because experience in war is valuable; but I never heard of any one who had the least regard for the opinion of recruits, though they were to give out their theories of war from night till morning. They should condescend to learn the practice of the art before they open their mouths upon the subject. 1748. —

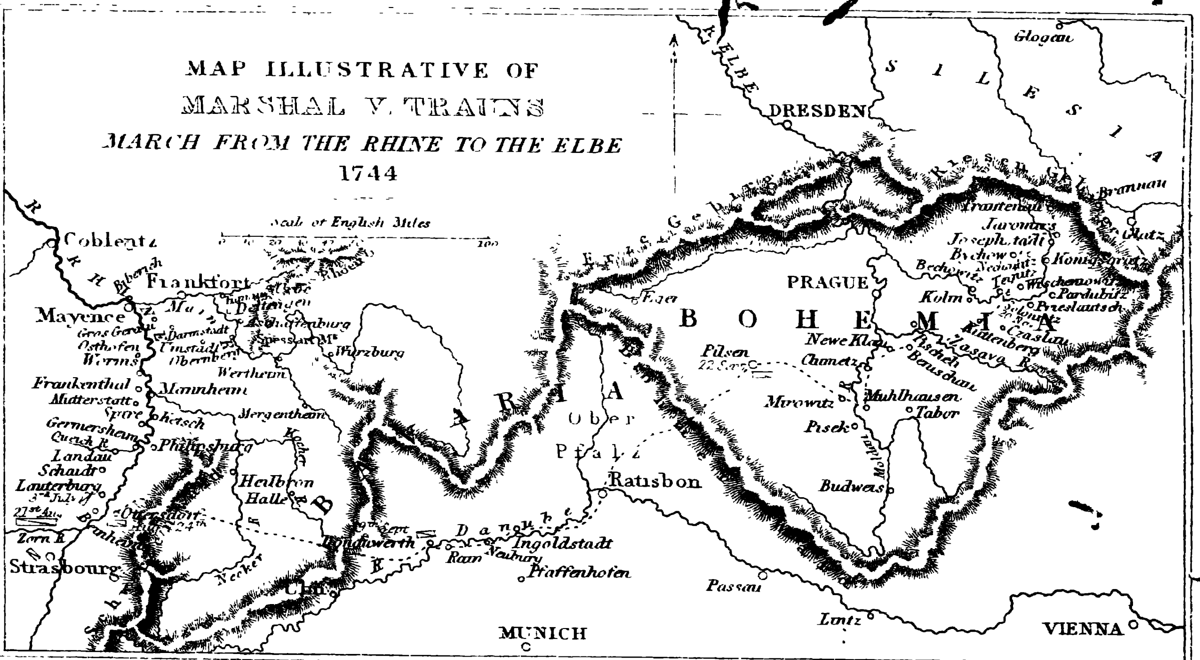
Traun's character not sufficiently prized in military memoirs.

That Traun's superiority has not been fully appreciated in history is undeniable; and this has probably been owing to his having been generally constituted what in old soldiers' language we call "dry nurse" to an incompetent, or not fully competent superior. This is the history of the two Silesian Wars. Prince Charles was too young and inexperienced to have attempted, much less to have succeeded in, that wonderful military operation, the passage of the Rhine in defiance of a French army, which gave so just a reputation to Marshal Traun; and this was of course much enhanced when it became necessary to withdraw the same army back again, and

1748. to succeed in this under much closer observation from the enemy. In the campaign of Bohemia Frederick was ousted by the simple process of pushing him out of the kingdom. The Prussians, once on the move, were, by dint of art, never allowed to stop; and here again a considerable river was crossed by mere address; so that a most remarkable feature of these operations was the wonderful sagacity and boundless resources of the commanding mind of the General. Results thus highly honourable to Marshal Von Traun have been absorbed in the splendour of another man's glory to the injury of the real performer. But this injustice may now be redressed by transmitting the name of that great commander to the notice of future generations.

It is believed that one reason why our hero has received such scant justice from history has been that his name has been continually mistaken. Duparcq, in his "Historical and Military Studies on Prussia," ascribes Marshal Von Traun's actions to Marshal Daun; and Lord Doyer, in his "Life of Frederick the Great," to Marshal Braun (Brown); and even Schlosser confused the actions of these Field-Marshals, although they belonged to different, though nearly contemporaneous, campaigns [3].

[3] Militair Conversations Lexikon; Achievements of Field-Marshal Traun, by General Watts de Peyster; Biographie Universelle; Campbell's Life of Frederick II.; Histoire de Mon Tems; Vie de Frederic II., Strasburg et Paris, 1788.


MAP ILLUSTRATIVE OF
MARSHAL V. TRAUNS
MARCH FROM THE RHINE TO THE ELBE
1744
Scale of English Miles
100
ELBE
DRESDEN
SILESIA
Glogau
Braunau
Glatz
Trautenau
Jaromirs
Josephstadt
Konigsgratz
Pardubitz
Preslautsch
Kolm
Czaslau
Kuttenberg
PRAGUE
BOHEMIA
Newe Klau
Chanetz
Pilsen
Mirowitz
Muhlhausen
Tabor
Pisek
Moldau
Budweis
Eger
Ober Pfalz
Ratisbon
Danube
Ingoldstadt
Neuburg
Rain
Pfaffenhofen
Passau
Lintz
VIENNA
MUNICH
Donauwerth
Heilbron
Halle
Kocher
Necker
Mergentheim
Wertheim
Wurzburg
Spessart Mt
Aschaffenburg
Dettingen
Frankfort
Main
Coblentz
Rhine
Mayence
Gros Gerau
Darmstadt
Osthofen
Worms
Umstadt
Obernberg
Frankenthal
Mannheim
Mutterstatt
Spire
Ketsch
Germersheim
Philipsburg
Queich R.
Landau
Schaidt
Lauterburg
Zorn R.
Strasbourg
Bavaria
James Wyld, Charing Cross East

A LETTER DEDICATORY,

ADDRESSED TO

A GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES;

SHOWING FROM THE LIVES OF THE WARRIORS AND ANNALS OF THE WARS OF THE SEVENTEENTH, EIGHTEENTH, AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES, THAT THE TACTICS AND PRACTICAL STRATEGY OF THE OLD MASTERS HAVE ESTABLISHED THE WHOLE ART OF WAR, SO THAT OFFICERS WHO "GO IN FOR HONOURS" IN THE PROFESSION OF ARMS WILL DO WELL TO MASTER ITS HISTORY WITH DILIGENCE AND DISCERNMENT, ESPECIALLY DURING AN INTERMISSION OF SERVICE IN THE FIELD.

LEASOWE CASTLE,
March, 1869.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

Although we are not known face to face, yet your courteous and flattering notice of my works, and the truly valuable hints and suggestions that you have favoured me with in your several communications, render me largely your debtor; and I am desirous of marking my deep obligations to you by requesting permission to dedicate my concluding volume to you and to your

military brethren. We appear to be men of much the same mind, and of common sympathies, desirous alike of employing our common language for a common object,—that of enlightening our comrades of a common profession with the necessity of applying the precepts of military history to the useful comprehension of their calling. Both of us agreeing that the best instruction for all officers is to be acquired from the deeds of the old masters in the Art of War.

In having a common object, we had, however, it is true, different results in view, when we severally turned our minds to the study of military history. The United States were on the eve of a melancholy crisis of international conflict, when you naturally wished, and you very reasonably desired to show, by the introduction of a better system of war, how to stay the waste of blood among your countrymen in a strife which made every brother on either side a soldier. You sought, therefore, to summon the science of the old masters to the "tented field," and preached "Practical Strategy." I, on the other hand, had fallen " upon the sere and yellow leaf," and was wishful to employ the profound leisure of my advancing age in propounding an increased knowledge of war among a generation of soldiers who had never had an opportunity to share in active service; and I had also, as an old stager, become disturbed by the intrusion of a new school at our Military Colleges, pre-eminently among the instructors of military history, who were seeking to introduce a Theory of War, against which I sought to recommend a knowledge of the past, or, as you put it—"Practical Strategy." In "Tactics" we neither of us have more than incidentally handled a matter that I am sure we both agree ought to be taught and continually kept alive in the barrack-yard and camp of every army. We must both admit that Tactics is the first element of war, for without it the movement of troops would be utter and hopeless confusion. No effort of Strategy can be matured without a thorough knowledge of Tactics. This truth

appears to me to be, *in limine*, fatal to the attempt to educate young aspirants militarily before they have come out of the regimental drill-yard[1]. They must first be officers.

My humble labours in the cause of military education have only aspired to produce publications that might be regarded as a summary of facts and events, which have been already recorded by others. I do not claim the merit of originality, but merely to give a compilation from various sources of things proper to be known by all soldiers. My works were written by me for the use of youths who have already entered the service of arms, and whose career has commenced, but whose profession has yet to be learned; and I desire to impress upon them more and more my ardent desire that every officer in the service should become a military historian, either from my works or from the original sources from which I have derived them. You address the higher ranks of the army, and appear to seek to philosophize the Art of War, by showing it to be capable, under its most scientific phases, of being less lavish of human blood. You write that "although the natural principle of war is to do most harm to the enemy with the least harm to ourselves," yet "that good generals only fight battles when necessity compels them;" and "that the most brilliant triumphs have been procured by stratagems and address, without exposing armies to heedless dangers." You say likewise that "none but men who have never learned their business in actual war" will waste their best men and officers in seeking, through idle theories, unprofitable or unattainable results, and that "to sacrifice good old regiments is like turning the intelligent and industrious out of school and keeping on only with the fools and dunces." I quite subscribe to these high and praiseworthy sentiments.

To both our grievances the remedy is the same—

[1] The Quarterly Reviewer, by the way, calls drill "applied mechanics," which appears a somewhat whimsical expression.

Practical Strategy. I readily accept from you this expression. It comprises all that can be said or written upon skill in war, and while I agree with you that this is best evinced by sparing the lives of its instruments as much as possible, I hold that this is in fact the whole art of war. Every one must admit that a perfect soldier is the most costly of artificial creations, and an efficient fighting man is the most difficult to repair when injured, or to replace when "broken," so that in plain truth the first general is he who can by steadiness and carefulness gain victories without prodigalizing the lives of his soldiers. This is unquestionably the *practice* of War to be most ardently sought; but inexperienced men have vainly imagined to supplement a School of *Theory* of War. To this, I apprehend all who have seen real service are alike opposed, convinced that an army must be practical to be useful, so that those who would aspire to a knowledge of war without the experience which is only to be attained in the field, should be condemned for devising "maxims" of their own imagination; because such writers may assure themselves that in their ignorance they will tend to the waste of human blood, as well as to the defeat and disgrace of their scholars. Men may be driven, for their amusement, in these piping times of peace, to new studies; but soldiers should keep to their books and at their desks for the purpose of acquiring information, and should not presumptuously seek to lay down rules or to preach dogmas in order to establish a School of War upon the most capricious foundations, without having earned that amount of practice in active service which may justify their teaching.

Having now arrived at the conclusion of my proposed work, "The Warriors of the Seventeenth Century," I hope to be allowed to flatter myself that I have served my profession, by *codifying* (so to speak) the military history of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. I trust I may claim that our English annals now comprise, through my fifteen volumes, a consecutive

record of 250 years of the Wars of the World. In the language of my Preface to the "Annals of the Wars," I said, "There is reason to believe that no work on this model exists in any language, and in my view it is of first importance that war should be studied through its practice, and that this void should be fulfilled."

Military history is the only true teacher of the science and philosophy of war. Napoleon said, "Read, re-read the campaigns of Alexander, Hannibal, Cæsar, Gustavus, Turenne, and Frederick; this is the only method by which you shall master the secrets of the art of war." "Votre génie éclairé par cette étude vous fera rejeter les *maximes* opposés à celle de ces grands hommes." Again, "Let my son meditate upon historical works. Therein lies the only true philosophy of war. Let him read and reflect upon the wars of the great captains: it is the sole channel through which the art of war can be learnt."

A charming little Manual for Officers, called "The Military Mentor," writes thus: "History is the guide of all policy—not as a mere repertory of dates and events, but to study it by seeking to obtain an insight into the future through the analogy of the past, the instruction of what *will be* from what *has been*. All that is great, surprising, or marvellous in the ages that are gone, may happen again in those that shall succeed; for the moral world appears to revolve somewhat similarly and to have successive seasons like the physical world." "A ces principes reconnus toutefois ne se borne pas l'étude de guerre: ils doivent en outre lire attentivement l'histoire des grands généraux, car tout le génie des hommes supérieurs est dans l'application [2]."

I recognize, however, in this sentiment a principal object in the reading of all History, namely, the contemplation of the characters and even the *whimsicalities* of the "praised men" as they tended to success or failure

[2] Mémoires de Montholon.

in their vocation. This last term is more courteously expressed by the word *genius*, a word and a thing very often misapplied in common parlance. The possession of this quality is too frequently regarded as superiority of mind, but it very commonly shows itself in absolute inferiority. In Science it leads to brilliant conceptions, but in War it is flighty, and as often leads to failure as to success. The knowledge of men, however, like that of the face of a country, should be studied and acquired by every commander of soldiers. Nature is always the same, but the varied combinations of its features make the landscape pleasing or unpleasing according to the circumstances; so the passions may be the same in many men, but the characters are ever different. "La connaisance du cœur humain est à la langue une influence prompte et décisive: et un général doit avoir l'instinct de déviner ce qui se passe dans l'âme de ses soldats et chez l'ennemi [3]."

Military skill has been too often deemed to be an effort of the mind, but I apprehend it is only so in respect to the energy and ready resources that it calls forth, and not as an exercise of deep and earnest thought. A most important military requisite that we learn from our fellow-men as well as from history, is that great desideratum for a commander in the field, the possession and ready application of common "Resources." It is a mistake to suppose that these are a natural gift,—they may be innate, but are readily cultivated by persons of wholly different temperaments—and every one knows in his own circle of what prime advantage it is to be able to apply, in a moment of imminent necessity, the common resources of the mind. Most sailors are found to possess these to a considerable extent, acquired as much by association and intercourse with others as from intuition; but soldiers should know the mystery of knots as thoroughly as his bluecoat friend, for he ought, even beyond the sailor, to know how to

[3] Marmont.

substitute for the desired tool or other requisite something that will do as well, because he has not so many at command, while he should also know how to lay down on the land the common problems of angles and figures, all which exemplify the necessity of practice in a soldier's career.

Doubtless you know one of our most influential serials, called the "Quarterly Review," which has lately introduced to the notice of its military readers of Europe a series of new works that within the lapse of a decade appears to have attained to such an influence in modern English military education as to threaten the admission of the doctrine of Theoretic War into the *curriculum* of our military schools and academies. I do not know to what an extent it has obtained notice; but regarding all theory in war, to be in a greater or less degree reprehensible, I desire particularly to call your attention to it. As you complain that you reside at some distance from good libraries you may not be able to get ready access to a work that reviews, with the greatest ability, all our domestic affairs, political and literary, but whose pages are rarely open to abstract military science. In No. 240 (for October, 1866) it gives an article headed, "Operations of Modern Warfare." The article in question is very loosely, and (as an exponent of an ambitious object) very inadequately given. It states at the commencement that a limit is given to "conditions of modern war," in order not "to waste time in discussing campaigns or the incidents connected with them, from which nothing is now to be learned." The field thus limited is not one in which you and I would care to confine our studies, but altogether the contrary, and so little indeed does even the reviewer keep within his own bounds, that he starts with a reference to the "First Expedition of Edward III. against the Scots," as Froissart describes it, "in order to prove the necessity of establishing a base, and making ample provision for supplies;" while he afterwards pro-

ceeds to show, that in the campaigns of the Black Prince in Auvergne and Navarre, war had to feed itself, as it necessarily did every where in those days of "suit and service."

To do the reviewer full justice, we must let him speak for himself, since, if he does not claim actually to inaugurate a school, he mixes up settled things on which we are all agreed, with those that are not orthodox. At starting you and I will agree with him, when he commences the article by saying, "*We* are *not* among the number of those who profess to believe that by studying the theory of his profession, every subaltern officer may render himself fit, if he be so disposed, to command an army in the field, and conduct a campaign to a successful issue." Yet he concludes the article by making the hero of his romance exactly fulfil this negation. He goes on to say that "the manœuvring of a company, of a battalion, of a brigade, of a division, the movements of a great army, and its disposition in order of battle—all the operations connected with these things depend *just as much upon mathematical calculation as the building of a Great Eastern, and her management in a gale of wind.*" Yet in passing we may remark a saying of the great Frederick: "Qu'il n'y avait bon dans la guerre que ce qui était simple." He goes on to say, "The art of war, like every other art, has thus its principles which can neither be violated nor ignored under any circumstances with impunity, and its laws which, because they are based upon principle, may, when an emergency arises, be set at nought, just as in other arts genius from time to time overrides all rule, and thereby better establishes the principles on which the rules are founded." These "rules," he says, "are like Euclid's axioms, which we must accept as facts to be admitted, not as problems to be proved." Yet Napier asserts somewhere, that in all the incertitudes of life, there is nothing in the world so uncertain as war in its ordinary consequences.

It is needless to follow the generalities of the reviewer, so that we will at once proceed to the gist of the subject

of the article to which I refer. There are six works, of which the titles stand at its head, "constituting a portion of the literary efforts which have received their stimulus from the causes just referred to." For the most part they are the writings of officers if not young, yet of very limited experience in the field; but all have been more or less connected with the Royal Military College, although, singularly enough, old Marshal Marmont is introduced among them by an English translation.

Now I scarcely think that I must consider a squad of recruits (for they have not a *vieux moustache* among them) can be deemed to represent the judgment of the veterans of the British army upon the most vital principles of war, nor ought it to be supposed that their doctrines and dogmas are endorsed by them. Nevertheless I apprehend the reviewer builds on some admitted authority the system he proceeds to inaugurate of "Maxims, illustrated by examples," "Principles," "Elements," "Contingencies," and arbitrary rules of all sorts, introducing the New School of war as "certain conditions which are *indispensable* to any measure of success, however moderate, in war, as it is now conducted."

I think that we are entitled to demand from any innovators, whence their "new rules" and "indispensable conditions" have been derived? Have they been deduced from any of the "Old Masters" in War? From Turenne or Montecuculi or Marshal Saxe, or from Feuquieres, or the Great Frederick; or can they be shown to have been derived from the correspondence of Napoleon or the despatches of Wellington? or are we after all merely discussing the inventive knowledge of men unknown to fame, and who have had little or no experience of active service in the field, who have just amused their leisure at the Royal Military College in telling men greener than themselves what, according to their fancy, real War might be? Of these two alternatives—one—either give us the authorities on which

the new system is constructed, or permit us to denounce it as a puerility.

According to our reviewer, "The selection of a plan of operations, and the movements necessary to bring the army up to the point which is aimed at, constitute what is called 'Strategy.'" Now the Shibboleth of the theoretic school whenever it has prevailed, is Strategy—a word often employed in military parlance to express something grand and unintelligible; the word is a good word enough, but it is altogether of modern acclimatization, and is not found in any dictionary, English, French, or German, prior to our own century. It was probably introduced by the French, who are prone to enrich the languages of Europe from a Greek derivation. It is here called "*a branch of tactics*, which teaches us to conduct an army when contending with an enemy." Without, however, disputing about a definition which is palpably faulty, the word may be taken to contain every thing which constituted the art of war previous to its affiliation into modern military speech—base, hospitals, magazines, geographical incidents, alignments, combinations, stratagems, manœuvring, artifice, and all other expedients of ordinary employment in war; but so far is Strategy from being a branch of Tactics, that I apprehend it to include every thing that is not Tactics. My persuasion is, that Strategy and Tactics are two essentially different departments of the art of war,—Strategy comprising all that is pure science, and Tactics all that is sheer practice—the handling of troops, &c. The former may very properly embrace all leading principles, such as the endeavour to bring superior masses of men against inferior proportions of your enemy, and the principle of operating on the enemy's communications, and so forth; but this is more properly "Practical Strategy," which will come especially into our consideration presently.

We need not, however, be detained by any references to the archæology of war, for it is readily

admitted that both in theory and practice soldiers on military service must and will live; "that armies must subsist as well as manœuvre and fight;" and that the establishment of adequate magazines is essential to the regular and legitimate subsistence of troops; yet the "necessity of this good starting-point" is mixed up rather hastily by the reviewer with the establishment of a base, which means however much more. The author of the "Theory of War" takes ten pages to describe "bases straight, curved, or angular." Only think of a general commanding in face of an enemy having to recall to his mind ten pages of instruction before he begins his work. Now in the practice of war, as we learn it from history, there have been a great many sound strategical contingencies, which permitted and even obliged the commanding general to depart altogether from any base of operations. In honest truth, I believe that our own Wellington is the only great general who, under every phase of his career, adhered consistently to the maintenance of a base; but then for the greater part of his career his base was his ships. The famous Torstenson marched an army from Moravia to the Baltic, altogether in face of the enemy the entire way, and subsisted his army effectively in that long and arduous movement without any base. Marlborough marched from the Netherlands to the Danube without a base; and Marshal Von Traun, in like manner, carried his army from the Rhine to the Elbe, and crossed both rivers in the teeth of the enemy, and yet had neither magazines nor hospitals for his soldiers. Take the example of Napoleon, in his masterly campaigns of 1814, when it was quite impossible for him to pay any regard whatever to any base of operations. These facts of undisputed history will prove to the reviewer, that in the *practice of war* a base is not absolutely necessary, although it must be admitted to be so in *theory*. Besides, it will be found in the history of many campaigns, that it has been often found necessary in effect to change a base in the midst of "operations." Some established

line of retreat must always, of course, be indispensable, since every well-ordered army must have its communications with magazines and hospitals; yet if war is ever to feed itself according to the French Republican school, a base is scarcely practicable, except when it is a whole district.

"Having settled this preliminary," we will advance to the more plausible theories of the new school. The reviewer lays down five distinct "contingencies," which he "illustrates by historical facts." Let us take the first in their order: "1st. The manner in which part of an army may hold in check or retard a superior force of the enemy;" and this is illustrated by the movements of "General Ziethen in the campaign of 1815, to check the advance of Napoleon, and thus to enable Blucher and Wellington to effect their junction at Quatre Bras." But in the teeth of this "apt example" we know that Ziethen did not check or retard the advance of Napoleon; and that Blucher and Wellington never did effect a junction at Quatre Bras. The reviewer, seeing how completely this reference breaks down, suggests the affair at El Bodon in 1811 as a preferable illustration of the contingency; but he fails a second time in this, when he diverts it from its intended purpose to "show clearly how much a small force, well handled, may effect in frustrating the purposes of a superior enemy," which is again historically wrong, because the purpose of the "superior enemy" at El Bodon was not "frustrated," and Wellington was forced to retreat.

Let us take one more example: "4th. The case of independent against combined lines of operations." This is illustrated again from the Waterloo campaign, "as a case of combined armies operating from divergent bases." But the armies of Wellington and Blucher were not combined when they were "operating from divergent bases," but were distinct and separate armies: they only combined to fight the great battle, and no "operations" whatever took place, "as if they had a common base[4]."

[4] "L'un avait sa base à Bruxelles, l'autre à Liége."—THIERS.

But the reviewer, altogether *à propos de bottes*, throws in an example of his own to prove that the "rules laid down by the Theorists may be violated by the superior fighting qualities of troops," by quoting the battle of Salamanca, where he says that "Wellington's tactics, seconded by the spirit of his troops, more than redeemed what had been lost by defective strategy." Now it is altogether preposterous that a Theorist should assume the right to select his own design, and then dress it out in colours of his own imagining. I assert that his example and his inference are utterly and entirely untrue, and I appeal to every published authority to deny it—the Duke's own despatch, July 23, 1812, Napier, Maxwell, Cyril Thornton, and my own "Annals," for "*Pars parva fui*," with my regiment in the van, both of the parallel march that preceded the battle, and of the particular movement that consummated it. The Duke, from the summit of the English *Arapile*, detected "the flagrant fault of his adversary, and fixed it with the stroke of a thunderbolt[5]." He immediately gave his orders for an attack of the enemy's centre, while he himself proceeded to lead up the third division against the head of the attenuated flank in column, which he crushed and "doubled up." But in what way this masterly act can merit the description of "defective strategy," I cannot discover.

It is not my intention, however, to review the reviewer, by going step by step to gainsay the truth of his examples or his illustrations; but I repeat, I cannot think it creditable to the British Army that a school of this questionable character should be established, as it were, *sub silentio;* and I am not aware that it has been discussed in any of the established military serials, nor even noticed as to its truth or falsehood by the authorities of the Horse Guards[6].

[5] Napier.

[6] If I am not misinformed, so far from the authorities of our Army having discountenanced the theoretic school, more than one of its professors have received distinctions, and one of the most prominent has been placed upon the Council of Military Education!

It is noteworthy that the reviewer who handles the ambitious subject of "Operations of Modern Warfare," does not "waste much time" over sieges or the passage of rivers. Yet it is scarcely possible but that the half-dozen constituents whose works he reviews, and who either directly or indirectly belong to the scientific services, must have given their attention to these most interesting and important portions of practical strategy, for these operations have attained to colossal proportions in our own times, from the improvements in artillery and pontifice. Yet he does but slightly notice both subjects.

To begin with the great question of *Places Fortes.* Before the seventeenth century, the protection of walls and bulwarks was not of a very scientific character. But when it became necessary to provide for the casual subsistence of armies and the due supply of ammunition, the depôts that became essential required more ample protection, and most large towns came to be surrounded by ramparts, in order to secure their rich magazines from the partisan cavalry of adventurers. In the strategy of those times the simplest way of obtaining supplies was by the siege and capture of fortifications. Accordingly, the attack and defence of these rich and valuable depôts constituted the campaigns of the generals of the Thirty Years' War, when sieges and escalades were the constant means of contention between rival armies. This strategy continued till the time of Turenne, who, as has been stated in his life, introduced towards the end of his day the formation of stated magazines under more secure keeping, and, instead of a series of sieges, he inaugurated the new features of a campaign, in a comprehensive system of combinations, stratagems, manœuvring, artifices, and all kinds of cunning expedients, to keep off the enemy from their stores, and away from any fertile districts, where either general might maintain their armies. This constituted in a principal degree the art of war almost to the end of the

eighteenth century. Marlborough, Boufflers, Villars, Vendôme, Berwick, Marshal Saxe, &c., were all singularly great in the art of attack and defence of strong places, and a siege was, even to our own days, as common as a pitched battle in deciding a campaign or the occupation of a country for supplies. With the French Revolution a contrary policy sprung up, and it was questioned whether it were not the better course to pass by fortified places and give them no heed. Napoleon, it may be remembered, did not often undertake a siege in person, and the most remarkable exception to this strategy—the siege of Dantzig—was scarcely honoured by his presence. Wellington had to endure some of the most bloody sieges of the wars of the Revolution. The possession of Badajoz and Ciudad Rodrigo became necessary to him for the occupation of the country both to the north-west and south-west in the Peninsula, as supplementary bases for operations, that required the secure passage of the great rivers Guadiana and Agueda. The Duke, however, inaugurated a new system of *place forte* by the Lines of Lisbon; and it has been now pretty generally admitted as a precedent of war that entrenched camps are preferable to fortified towns, because no defences that ever were constructed can hold out beyond a limited term, and they can be always much more easily blockaded than an entrenched camp can be: on this matter the reviewer contents himself with saying, "The art of war as now practised has materially lessened their value." What does he mean by the term "*as now practised*"? But this, after all, is a matter that can only be studied from military history *under capable guides*: but, alas! who is there in the list of our professors of military history whose experience can direct a young officer to the useful study of battles and sieges? and which of our young officers have ever been taught how even to defend himself in a house or farmstead? and yet the youngest one might be sent on service at the spur of the moment, and, notwithstanding all the *cramming* of his competitive examination, would not know

the commonest principles on which he might protect a detachment entrusted to his command.

It is perhaps necessary to say one word on things "strategical," and particularly on "strategic points," because in the modern parlance of military men, and in our general literature, these expressions are become common. The author of "Theoretical War" lays down this definition of strategic points: "Every point in the theatre of war, whatever be its nature, which conduces in any manner to strengthen your line of operations or communications, is a strategic point." And again, "All points on a field of battle which may impede the advance of an enemy are strategic or tactical points." One seems almost lost in the immensity of the definition, and I scarcely think any general in command would, from the new school, be able to form a clear and intelligible idea in his mind of "a decisive strategical point either for offence or defence." But why must we have "points either strategical or tactical" at all? An officer's common sense will decide under the circumstances of the particular case what is practically a point of importance. Thus Quatre Bras and Sombreffe were such to the mind of Napoleon as he advanced to Waterloo, and La Haye Sainte and Hougoumont were such to Wellington; but the most effective and striking point in modern history was what was called "*Le point immuable*" of the French army in Poland, in 1807, when Bernadotte was ordered to hold a pivot on which the entire French army was to change front in order to bear upon the flank and rear of Benningsen, if he attempted to push past to raise the siege of Dantzig, and which operation actually came into effect before the battle of Preusch-Eylau. Was this strategical or tactical?

The only moment when "maxims," "principles," "elements," and "contingencies" can be admitted to assist strategy, is when it becomes requisite to lay down a plan in your cabinet for a campaign; but it would puzzle any

general to discover the "infallible test" of the theorists "by which to judge of every military plan." We are instructed "that the whole science of war may be briefly defined as the art of placing, in the right position at the right time, a mass of troops greater than your enemy can then oppose to you." Something of the kind is among the apocryphal dicta of Napoleon, but I would respectfully inquire how one in the field can practically ascertain a fact of this kind. "The right position" and "the right time" is just the matter of private judgment, on which the entire success or failure of every operation depends; but the relative strength of yourself and the enemy, "in the right position at the right time," cannot in the nature of things be pre-determined with any certainty. Of course a very material point in all military movements is the topographical and "effective intelligence" departments; and that before a commander can sit down to consider his maps and statistics a great number of facts should be previously acquired, as to the probable strength of the opposing forces, and the resources and obstacles of all kinds expected to be met with at the seat of war; the relative importance of all which must be learned from history, for they cannot be guessed from theory, and the incidents arising from a new fact might in an instant of time completely change "the base" and "the point," and all that the theorist had vainly predetermined.

The passage of rivers is one of the most important of the "operations of war;" but the question is not limited to the size, form, or organization of "pontoons, and tressel-bridges," so much as to the "expedients, artifices and combinations" that are needful to render the passage of rivers by an army under peculiar difficulties effective; and this is quite passed over by the reviewer. The preponderating influence of artillery has been the most common means to effect the successful passage of a river in face of an enemy; but no rule of war can anticipate the difficulties or suggest the expedients of such an operation, and it is quite indispensable to seek for the requisite suggestions

from historic precedents. The French were grand *pontoniers* during the entire eighteenth century, but in all their vaunted success in this respect, they never equalled Von Traun in his double passage of the Rhine in face of three French Marshals, and in crossing the Elbe in the teeth of the great Frederick. In our own times, the Archduke Charles, Moreau, Hoche, and Napoleon, crossed "conquering rivers," but Wellington was a greater master than any of them when he carried his army across the Adour by a mighty bridge that set the winds and tides at defiance, as well as Soult and the garrison of Bayonne.

Singularly enough, also, the reviewer, in his "operations of war," has not broached the subject of the existence and employment of "Reserves." As to which Marshal Saxe makes it the first consideration, and military history again and again evidences that on the proper employment or on the withholding of reserves has resulted victory or defeat. These many omissions of the school of theory are cogent arguments against its value as governing "operations of war."

And so again of "demonstrations," which surely merit a place in the "operations," together with many other things that are not mentioned. The inexperience of the reviewer may know nothing outside the "maxims," "principles," and "elements" of his theory, yet a very little knowledge of history is worth the whole of all these books put together. In fine, I think I am justified in asserting that the reviewer's school is unsound, that his examples in illustration of his precepts are out of Court, and that, as a system, it is founded upon such hollow foundations as cannot support its superstructure.

I appeal to history, and am sanguine enough to hope that in tracing the military career of the "praised men" of the seventeenth century, I have in some degree and with some success usefully advanced the progress of military science, so as to render it readily available for the tyro or the commander. History divests the mind of all supposititious teaching in war, and exposes the

false lights that imagination sheds over the plainest and simplest of sciences. It is mainly through the Biographies of the Warriors of each period that I have been able to collect any knowledge of the early condition of war as an art; but in the period antecedent to Charles V. there appears little to be obtained by study from the "suit and service" tactics of the Middle Ages. I began, therefore, with Maurice of Nassau, to whose personal care for the comfort and efficiency of the soldier is mainly to be ascribed the character of a standing army; for before his time all armies were, for the most part, an untamed horde of horse, such as the mailed knights and partisans, or indeed our own cavaliers. Maurice made it his object to discipline the foot, and thus came to be considered "the greatest commander of infantry since the time of the Romans." We have next in Spinola a man brought up in commercial habits, and accordingly well versed in large money transactions. The expedience of attending to the military chest is a first-rate consideration in armies, and a most important element in their organization; for the due payment of troops conduces more than any thing else to the consequence of cohesion as well as of order. To Gustavus Adolphus we owe the firm hand that held together the unprincipled and insatiate legions who, collected from the four winds of heaven, harried Germany, not only up to his time but afterwards, covering the face of the land with terror, desolation, and confusion. The Swedish king first caused soldiers to be "converted into a well-disciplined force of men, under the command of a superior class of officers of high honour and intelligence; by which means an armed body was elevated to the dignity of a profession of arms." Torstenson possessed a marvel of power over the commissariat and transport, and the great question of the subsistence of armies is to be studied from his career. These four warriors I regard as the patriarchs of a movent regular army; but we find in Baner, Tu-

renne, Luxembourg, Montecuculi, Marlborough, and Von Traun, men who all laboured to advance the soldier in material excellence and refinement; exalting the estimation of the cloth in the abstract, "by depriving it of half its grossness."

I also trust that it will be acknowledged that, without my having "found a mare's nest," I have succeeded in throwing a stronger light upon the qualities and deeds of some of the "praised men" of whom I have written in this volume. Monk, for example, has hitherto been made a fertile subject of historical inquisition; and many most able writers have, after a careful discussion of his character and conduct, arrived at very different conclusions as to whether he was the greatest of patriots, or the deepest of hypocrites? It appears to me that he was neither the one nor the other, but a plain, unsophisticated soldier, a man absolutely without strong party predilections, unjustly accused of personal ambition, and equally attached to the King, as long as there was one in the land, as to the Protector, father and son, all of whom he served faithfully, until at length, at the close of their sovereignties, driven by the circumstances of the times, he took up with the government *de facto*, and, with a strong hand, kept that down, until the nation could unmistakably pronounce its will and pleasure. I have likewise, in my present volume, without seeking for it, lighted upon some hitherto altogether overlooked and forgotten, or slightly noticed campaigns, both of our own and of foreign armies. In the Life of Turenne in my former volume I revived the glory of the first "red-coat" that had ever been seen upon the Continent, when the gallant Welshman General Morgan taught Turenne at Ypres "how to assail the body of the place." In the Biography of Marshal Von Schomberg in this volume will be found a summary of a campaign in which the "red coat" acquired very remarkable honour in a war of six or seven years in Portugal against the Spanish armies, where the English obtained great and almost un-

recorded distinction; and in the Life of Marshal Von Traun I have introduced a man whose name has almost passed into oblivion, but who, on the authority of Frederick of Prussia (who has left on record that he "went to school to Traun"), opens a career for military study that is a singular and most apt illustration of Practical Strategy.

Whom shall we account among the ancients to be practical strategists? Hannibal, Cæsar, and Alexander, according to some; but it will be sufficient for me to quote in its behoof those examples which may be found in my own "Annals of the Wars," and "Lives of the Warriors." Let us consider—I. The campaigns in 1631-2, when Gustavus Adolphus, after the battle of Lutzen, threatened alike the Empire by an advance to Frankfort, and the King of France by boldly crossing the Rhine to his face. II. Baner, 1636-41, when, after the battle of Wittstock, he kept his enemies at bay in his camp at Torgau for four months; and then escaped out of the "sack" on the banks of the Wartha, by availing himself of an eccentricity of the river Oder; or when in 1641 he came down in the midst of winter from North Germany to capture the Emperor at Ratisbon. III. Torstenson, 1642-5, who, earning the *sobriquet* of "the Lightning" from his brilliant ubiquity, marched in the teeth of all opposition from Bohemia to Denmark, and back again,—two marches which are worthy of comparison with any recorded in ancient or modern annals,—and who utterly destroyed three of the finest armies which the Empire sent against him. IV. The Great Elector, when he broke up from Cleves to fight the battle of Fehrbellin. V. Turenne, 1650-75, nearly the whole of whose career exemplifies Practical Strategy. VI. Marlborough, 1704, either in his march to Blenheim, or, his last exploit, his capture of the lines of Bouchain, or indeed his entire career. VII. Prince Eugene's flank march from Trent to Turin, 1706, "a masterpiece of daring enterprise." VIII. Traun's two last campaigns, 1744-5, for the details of which refer to his life in this volume: but there is, per-

haps, no more conclusive example of Practical Strategy than was exhibited in his last campaign, when Traun outmanœuvred the Prince de Conti, and obliged him to quit Germany, and leave her free to execute the choice of the Diet assembled for the election of Emperor; at which time the French army were forced across the Rhine, without the loss of a single soldier to the Austrians. IX. Frederick the Great's campaigns of Rosbach and Leuthen. X. Napoleon, 1796-7, his first passage of the Po, with his defence of Verona, and capture of Wurmser; battle of Rivoli, &c. XI. Suwarrow, 1799, Genoa and Switzerland. XII. Moreau, 1796-7, Black Forest, and passage of the Rhine. XIII. Archduke Charles, 1796-7, the Rhine. XIV. Wellington, when, in 1813, he marched up out of Portugal, turning every natural obstacle in succession, and having by *ruse* induced the enemy to blow up Burgos, he the same day by a flank march crossed the Ebro, and forced on the victory of Vittoria, which rolled back the tide of war to France. XV. The famous march of Sherman from Atalanta to Savannah in twenty-three days.

The great merit of Practical Strategy attending all these exploits, was the saving it always effected in the blood of soldiers by the avoidance of pitched battles. It is the great skill of a commander when he can so study the art of war as to avoid the last resource of a battle: and I make the remark not only because of the unpardonable prodigality of expending human life idly upon a religious and moral sense, but even on lower grounds. The truly noble man will consider it mean and cowardly to call upon the brave to face death when it can be avoided; and the truly wise one will duly appreciate the life of a made soldier, for he is not so readily or immediately replaced.

In the above summary of examples of Practical Strategy I have by no means exhausted the subject; but I trust I have succeeded in awakening my military readers to this truth,—that the ordinary resources of a

man's mind, informed by the study of example, matured by reason, and adopted on reflection, will constitute a better judgment in war than trite "maxims" or arbitrary "illustrations," which must necessarily perplex and confuse a mind in the attempt to render their application possible at an imminent crisis, since there can never exist such a Procrustean measure as can affect *precisely similar*, or even *nearly approximate* conditions to the ever-changing casualties of wars and battles; and if a commanding general has to unravel an intricate problem when he ought to act, he must inevitably fail.

I would beseech and conjure our governors and men in highest authority, as a general rule, to appoint no officer to the chief command of an army much above fifty years of age. I am well aware that from old Marshal Radetzki downwards there are always examples forthcoming of veteran leaders who have been popular; and in naming any precise age of man, it can never be more than an approximation; since there must always be some regard justly due to the habits of energy and activity for which a candidate for military employment at fifty, or any other age, is noted. Many a sluggard and man of ease at thirty years of age would be more objectionable than the sexagenarian who can keep up with the hounds, walk down his junior, or in any, ever so small a degree, distinguish himself in athletic pursuits. All history records it as the rule that nothing is more valuable to the leader of men than to be a man of robust health and of an iron frame, and one of untiring energy, who does not care for sleep. I almost despair of finding at this time a race of men fitted for high command, who, like Charles Napier, made his profession a subject of constant study from his youth up, and who was ready for work at a moment's notice, with merely "a piece of soap and a clean shirt in his pack." Napoleon proved his muscles and his pluck when he appealed to the patriotism of his soldiers, at the moment of the consummate victory of Rivoli, to march back with him the same night to

Mantua to defeat Provera, as he had already defeated Alvinzi; and by this means alone did he secure the prize of the great campaign of 1796-7. Wellington, having received complaints that his military hospital at Celerico, in 1811, was badly organized rode there (seventy miles) and back, before dinner, when, having dismissed the entire medical staff at the station, he returned to his head-quarters. He was at this time just in the prime of his activity, and about the same age as Napoleon. For such deeds of Practical Strategy both officers and men must be in complete possession of manly vigour, energies, and activity. It is not enough that the soldier in the ranks should be under forty years of age: we must have, for the work to be required of officers in war, commanding captains of every grade, who retain their morning freshness of nerve and enterprise.

It is right that I should justify myself before I conclude, for having presumed to draw up the biographies that comprise the second part of this volume; but I could not altogether omit from the list of my "Warriors" those who have "commanded fleets before the enemy," although I have to admit myself to be utterly unequal to do justice to their great deeds. Certainly the sister service would not have been pleased if such a bevy of heroes as they can produce had been left unnoticed in my pages, and accordingly I say with Shakspeare,—

> "I have ventured
> Like little wanton boys that swim on bladders,
> But far beyond my depth."

Our Literâture is rich with the sayings and doings of our own "blue-jackets," but it will surprise many to hear that their *Vates sacri* have been a little too partially biassed even to admit into our Biographical Dictionaries the distinguished names of several great Admirals of rival nations: for example, so voluminous a repertory as Chalmers does not include in his Biographies any notice whatever of Du Quesne, De Tourville, D'Estrées, and Chateau-Regnaud. I think, therefore, that I am doing

but scant justice to history, when I pay a tribute to what ought to be its impartiality, by giving such men place among the Warriors of the Seventeenth Century.

I take leave to notice in conclusion, that in introducing "The Lives of the Warriors" into such brilliant company as the Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellors and Chief Justices, the Judges, and the Speakers of the House of Commons, I might also have been deemed guilty of presumption, if it were not that they are compiled upon an essentially different plan from these works. "The Warriors" are not in succession one to another, illustrative of consecutive history, like the "Lives" of civilians, but I have arbitrarily assumed my "Warriors" as *examples* of the military *history* of the seventeenth century. I have sought to make my volumes useful as well as entertaining, by deducing from the biographies of my "praised men" something like rules of practice for the benefit of future generations, or rather, I should say, as accumulating treasures of experience and practice for my fellow-soldiers, in order to excite the attention and increase the mental resources of aspirants to an art whose business requires the most varied information for the quickest and readiest decision in practice.

I might indeed have wished to have added some words on military education, but that our system here is so confessedly at fault that the entire subject has been referred to a Crown Commission. Perhaps some considerable amendment may ensue from the labours of this body, because our complicated existing arrangement for the instruction of officers consists of a somewhat disproportionate educational staff,—a council of military education, thirty regimental officers, and sixty or seventy professors and masters, for about 400 or 500 young men and youths, and even this is insufficient either to control or educate them. For myself, I would, in so mature a matter as the art of war, dispense altogether with a royal school for boys, and retain the Royal Military College for officers who are with their regiments; and, in a matter so essentially pro-

fessional as military education, I should wish to see the entire system placed under the sole responsibility and supervision of general officers such as the Commander-in-Chief and the Governor of the Royal Military College. I observe that the terms of the Royal Commission include "the present state of military education, and more especially the training of candidates for the army." Now this opens the whole question of the maintenance of the Royal Military College as a national seminary for aspirants for commissions in the Royal army. To employ a commercial figure, I hold that we should obtain a better article for our purpose by buying it ready-made in the public market than by the manufacture of it ourselves. We should at all events get that which promises equal durability and wear, and, if purchased on the same conditions of competitive examination, would be of the best stuff procurable; but the best commodity would suffer if it were laid aside in a drawer as soon as it is purchased, and this is what we do. To speak without any metaphor, it is the Young Officer, and not the Cadet, which requires our supervision and our fostering care.

Barrack Life is, without any exception, the most idle, listless, and sensual existence that was ever devised for the deterioration of a class of young men, at an age when useful life ought to be especially cultivated; and I have heard it quoted, as the opinion of a modern statesman, whose experience of both families of the sword was considerable, that he found military men generally very inferior in professional knowledge to naval officers[7]. Why should this be? Simply because our system has been to neglect the class of regimental officers, solely and un-

[7] Every one is ready to forgive the "quips and cranks"—the fun and nonsense, that will always pervade young men in their associations together, for it is the happy privilege of their years; but it may be noted, that although there may not be a whit more real wit and humour in Naval than in Military messes, yet the former do occasionally introduce *usefully* the deeds of their calling, and do not taboo them as "shop."

reservedly, excepting in so far as their regimental duties are concerned. Some interest ought to be beneficially shown for their mental culture; and they might then be required to evidence some interest in their profession in such a way as might bring those who will work into notice and lead to their advancement. I have never subscribed to the opinion that a severe competitive examination is desirable for the ordinary class of Officers in the Army; but when one reads of "the Royal Engineers," and finds that the scientific branches of the Service obtain an amount of knowledge that is enough to make one's head ache, and yet never obtain employment, it would be well if the idlers, who are brought up with the idea of commands somewhere or another, should receive some slight intellectual discipline to render them fit for high employment. I think I have shown that the amount of knowledge or information required for leading of armies is not deep; but, on the other hand, there are many things that the best-informed officer requires, to become a warrior to command an army in the field by the unanimous verdict of his peers. Yet, at this time, an officer gains little or nothing of this from his professional bringing up; and I am perfectly at a loss to understand how the Staff at the Horse Guards, who have had in their career the fullest experience of the perfect carelessness of improvement in barrack life, can justify themselves for not making some exertions to improve its intellectuality by a better training for an Officer of the Line.

Let us in conclusion hear what a modern French writer of unusual candour[8] and intelligence, writes upon the subject:—

"J'aurais instamment montré que nos écoles militaires, dont l'organisation a vieillie, n'ont pas, dans nos institutions, le rôle du premier ordre qui leur appartient.

[8] As an example of unusual "candour" as is rarely found in military writers of any nation, I must add this *Mot*, which he records of his friend Maréchal Bugeaud: "L'infanterie Anglaise est la plus rédoubtable en Europe: heureusement il n'y en a pas beaucoup."

"Ces écoles donnent lieu à des exigences et à des contraintes qui dégôutent de l'étude les hommes de troupe et attiédissent l'esprit militaire.

"Je pourrais multiplier les exemples qui démontreraient l'opportunité pour l'Armée d'une éducation mieux conçue, plus virile, plus vraie, plus complete surtout que celle qu'elle reçoit. Si un régiment est réuni quelque part tout entier, je voudrais qu'un haut enseignement fût fait aux corps d'officiers par les généraux qui les commandent dans les conférences où seraient dévelopés les principes puissés dans l'expérience de la guerre.

"Profitant des séjours, des haltes prolongées dans les marches, et généralement de tous les répits que leur laisse la guerre, il faut qu'ils réunissent les officiers dans les conférences; qu'ils parlent souvent aux cadres quand la troupe est réunie sur le terrain; qu'il faut établer par ces moyens des principes, et ne laisser échapper aucune occasion d'en faire publiquement l'application[9]."

I fear that we have but few officers under our present system of military information who would prove quite equal to the task here imposed upon them; but I assert that the principal object of army education should be to render our superior officers fit for duties of this description, and that this might with every facility be obtained by the simple study of military history. If I am rightly informed, Captains of the Navy very commonly teach and instruct their subordinates in their ordinary intercourse, so as to keep alive in their minds the most notable actions of their great historic characters, in order that they may thus learn their profession; and why should not Generals and Colonels of regiments do likewise? I have it on the highest authority that the Prussians effect this with complete success in their regiments of three battalions each. Instead of wasting our time and our money in attempting a rivalry with the public schools and preparatory *lycées* of the kingdom, let us at once cease the vain endeavour to rear young lads and boys for a service which

[9] *L'Armée Française en* 1867.

they are unable to appreciate, and for which they cannot have as yet imbibed the slightest interest, and let us turn our minds to the improvement of the young Officer serving with his regiment. That the respected names which constitute the Royal Commission will effect all that can be done under the circumstances, is merely to assert that in the true spirit of English inquirers they will go into the matter remitted to them with a determination to seek out and to correct every abuse and short-coming that shall be brought before them; but I would take leave to apprise the non-military members of the Commission of this peculiar attribute of army education—that a soldier's library is his pocket, and that, however opposed to the universal law, books can never more than partially affect the military learning of an officer in the field, who, even though he commands in chief, must carry in the recesses of his memory all the information he can retain of all he has ever acquired; for the sound practice of energetic modern war eschews the impediments of heavy baggage, from whence he might obtain the means of refreshing it, by immediate reference or study. It is pre-eminently on this account that I would restrict the elaborate teaching and cramming of competitive examination of all officers, and indeed would almost limit these requirements to the study of Military History; which I think I have shown to include most of the requisites of the art of war; and I should rejoice if a system could be steadily enforced for the public and private reading of officers of the British Army in barracks, and that all the bewilderments of idle and immature theories should be assiduously discountenanced.

I remain, My dear General,

With much consideration,

Your very cordial fellow-worker,

EDWARD CUST,

GENERAL.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL WATTS DE PEYSTER,

Tivoli, New York.

LIVES OF THE WARRIORS

WHO HAVE COMMANDED ARMIES
BEFORE THE ENEMY.

CONTENTS.

WARRIORS WHO HAVE COMMANDED ARMIES BEFORE THE ENEMY.

GEORGE MONK, DUKE OF AUMERLE OR ALBEMARLE.

ENGLISH GENERAL AND ADMIRAL.

Born 1608. Died 1670.

1608. — His ancestry.

THIS remarkable man, who, from his especial share in the Restoration of Royalty after the Great Rebellion, has been generally regarded as the most celebrated British warrior of the XVIIth century, was of a gentleman's family in Devonshire, and of very good extraction. He was the second son of Sir Thomas Monk of Potheridge, in that county—a stock always very loyally affected to the Crown, and with an ancient character for that distinction. He was lineally descended from Frances Plantagenet, second daughter and co-heir of Arthur (natural son of Edward III.), by his wife Elizabeth Grey, sister and heir to Viscount L'Isle, and through the Talbots co-heiress of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick and Aumerle; so that, in fact, he had a certain degree of hereditary pretension

1625. to the honours to which he was subsequently advanced by the grateful favour of the restored King.

Early military services: joins the naval service: anecdote.

Being a younger brother, he entered very early into the life and condition of a soldier. It was his father's intention that he should make his first campaign in the land forces under Buckingham in the unfortunate expedition against the Isle de Rhe, in 1625, before he had completed his seventeenth year; but his fortunes were changed by a singular incident, which caused him to become a volunteer in the sea service. The facts were these:—King Charles came down to Plymouth to inspect the war preparations then going forward; and Monk's father, residing near, with that character for loyalty which, as we have seen, distinguished his family, was desirous to pay his duty to His Majesty, and took his son George with him to show him the way he would have him to go. Untowardly, in the execution of this act of attention to his Sovereign, he was arrested for debt. Young Monk, exasperated at this disgrace put upon his father in the open street, caned the bailiffs publicly; and then, to escape his own apprehension, was obliged to abscond, and to go on board some vessel in the fleet then lying in the offing, under Lord Wimbledon: thus he obtained an opportunity of early serving his country in a naval capacity. The year after this, by the influence of his relative Sir Richard Grenville, whom he met with at Cadiz, he obtained a pair of colours in the land service of the expedition.

Serves in the Low Countries: quits the service of the Prince of Orange, 1641.

In 1629, when serving in the Low Countries, he obtained the rank of Captain in the Lord Vere's regiment, having obtained the reputation of an excellent foot-officer under this distinguished leader, upon that stage where the foremost men of all countries then acted either on the side of the Spaniard or the Hollander. Here he served, first and last, for ten years, taking part in many battles and sieges; but receiving what he deemed an affront from the Prince of Orange,

he quitted his service, and returned to England in 1641. 1641.

He found the troubles that at this time beset his native country then just beginning; and, taking service for the King, he received the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, and in 1642 was ordered to proceed to Ireland with the command of Lord Leicester's (the Lord Lieutenant's) own regiment of foot. He served at the battle of Kilrush, and in command of a detachment overcame an army of the Irish under Preston, without the loss of a single man. Indeed he rendered such considerable service, that he was made Colonel, and appointed Governor of Dublin. The cautious temper of the man, which afterwards raised him to exalted eminence, now brought him into trouble; for his companions, in their zeal for the King, thought him too mild in his discourses, and accordingly voted him (merely for his freedom from bitterness) to be in heart a Parliamentarian. Accordingly, when, in September, 1643, he returned with his regiment to England, he was seized on his landing at Bristol. But the Governor of the town, believing the suspicions against him to be groundless, suffered him to proceed to Oxford on his bare parole to justify himself to the King; and he so fully satisfied Lord Digby, then Secretary of State, that he was introduced to His Majesty, and appointed by him Major-General of the Irish Brigade, then employed at the siege of Nantwich, at which place he arrived the very day before the surprise of the whole corps by Fairfax. He was accordingly taken prisoner with the rest, and sent to the Tower of London, where he remained in close confinement till the 13th November, 1646. Here he lay when his kinsman, the Lord Lisle, who had great interest with the Parliament, endeavoured, with much importunity, to persuade him to take the service of the Parliament. He had suffered great straits in prison, and thought himself to have been unkindly dealt with; yet he positively and consistently

Joins the King's party: is appointed Governor of Dublin: is made Major-General of the Irish Brigade.

Is sent to the Tower: refuses to side with the Parliament.

1645. refused all these well-meant endeavours to relieve the hardships which the necessities of the King's condition imposed on himself and on the other prisoners who could not provide money enough for their supply.

His treatise on military and political affairs.

"In his campaigns Monk had obtained a good military reputation, as has been noticed, and now is said to have made himself master of the art of war, employing the leisure of his confinement in writing a work called 'Observations on Military and Political Affairs.' It contains some thirty chapters of martial rules, interspersed with political reflections, forming a kind of military grammar. The remarks are short, sensible, and pointed. He says of armour, which was not yet altogether in disuse, 'That men wear not arms because they are afraid of danger, but because they would not fear it.' He gives this odd reason for preferring pikes to swords, 'That if you arm your men with the latter, half the swords will be hacked in a march, in hacking the trees for firewood or shelter[1].'"

Sides with Cromwell, who sends him to Ireland.

Monk remained a prisoner in the Tower until the King had given up his person into the hands of his enemies, and the war was at an end; then Cromwell, who had knowledge of his capacity, prevailed upon Monk, for his liberty, to accept preferment in the Parliament army, and to proceed to Ireland to restrain O'Neill and the Roman Catholics, who were now in arms against the English. It is singular enough, that although he is commonly considered to have changed sides, yet on this occasion he might in truth have reasonably regarded it as no change at all, for he still adhered exactly to the same duty that he had inviolably observed against the Irish rebels before. There was no question of King or Parliament in the matter; it was war to the knife against "the Saxon" in either case. Be this as it may, to Ireland he went in 1646-7; but it was Cromwell whom he undertook to serve; for from this time he continued very firm to Oliver, who

[1] Walpole's Noble Authors.

1648.

was liberal and bountiful to him, and took him into his entire confidence; nor was there any man in either of the armies that Monk subsequently commanded, in England or Scotland, upon whose fidelity to himself Cromwell more implicitly relied. There was indeed, at Monk's first going to Ireland, little to do in the way of service in the field. The King's party was subdued here, as elsewhere; and Ormonde, the King's Lieutenant, without hope that Charles could send him succour, and destitute of all resources, thought to protect the Irish Protestants from the machinations of the Irish Roman Catholics by entering into negotiations with the Parliament to place the capital in their hands. Accordingly Monk quitted Ireland the 19th June, 1648, but only to return there again in a few weeks.

Returns to England; but returns to Ireland, and takes Belfast and Carrickfergus: makes peace with O'Neill.

Soon after his arrival in England he was made Commander in Chief of all the forces in Ulster. Parliament, having thus obtained possession of Ireland, deemed it most prudent to divide the government between Monk and Colonel Jones, and to the latter was assigned the command of Leinster. Ulster was the province from which James I. had expelled the Roman Catholics in order to establish a Scotch colony, and accordingly the dispossessed proprietors had become the most irreconcilable enemies of the English supremacy. Re-assembled under the guidance of O'Neill, the most skilful and daring of the insurgent chiefs, the "Old Irish" were lurking around their old abodes. It was impossible to come at them in a regular way, for as soon as they were dispersed in one point, they re-assembled in another. By dint of extreme vigilance, by dodging their track, and by cutting off their provisions, Monk made the quarters of the "Old Irish" so uneasy, that O'Neill was obliged to seek out some new field of operations. The new Scotch settlers lived likewise on sufficiently bad terms with the English. But Monk was already well skilled in keep-

1649. ing peace between two parties by profiting by their
— mutual animosities. Monroe was at the head of the new Scotch; and Monk, towards the middle of September, at the moment when Cromwell was victorious at Preston, and was crossing the Tweed, fell upon their quarters in concert with the old Scotch, taking possession of Belfast and Carrickfergus, and sent both the men and their General prisoners to England. No service could at the time have been more agreeable to Parliament, and especially to Cromwell, who by this blow was aided in his objects upon Scotland; and Monk received a gratuity of £500 for his service, with a letter of thanks from the Speaker. At the end of this period he received secret instructions from the Close Committee of the Parliament to endeavour to treat with Owen O'Neill, the chief of the confederate Roman Catholics then in arms. This Monk found opportunity to do, and O'Neill was brought to offer to serve the Parliament with his army, and not to separate from their common interest, if his party might enjoy the free exercise of their religion without prejudice or disadvantage. These terms were granted, but were of course made a grievance by both Presbyterians and Independents, who would not tolerate any terms with the Papists; and the General was accordingly summoned to appear before the House; and he therefore repaired to London. On his way he met with Cromwell going over to take the government of Ireland. The wary politician warned him of the danger into which he was hastening, and advised him as to the friends he should apply to. Nevertheless, after hearing all he had to say at the Bar of the House, they came to this vote:—"That they did disapprove of what Major-General Monk had done in concluding a peace with the grand and bloody Irish rebel Owen Roe O'Neill, and did abhor the having any thing to do with him therein; yet are easily persuaded that the making the same by the said Major-General was, in his judgment, most for the advantage of the English interest

in that nation; and that he shall not be further questioned for the same in time to come." 1649.

About this time Monk's elder brother died of a fall from his horse, without leaving male issue; consequently the family estate of Potheridge devolved upon him. He therefore withdrew into private life to recover it from the ruinous condition in which his father and late brother had left it. His business-like habits and energy soon restored the estate from its depressed condition. But he had scarcely settled his private affairs when he was called forth again to assist in the field. The young King had appeared in Scotland; and the Parliament, troubled at his presence in the island, sent for Cromwell out of Ireland to serve them in this emergency: because Fairfax, who had hitherto borne the name of General, declared positively that he would not command any army that was sent into Scotland. Hereupon Oliver was named to take his place; but he was become so attached to Monk, that he would not stir without having him at his elbow, to advise upon all matters preparatory to the march. Our hero thus became what in modern parlance would be called the "Chief of the Staff." Such an officer, under some designation or other, has always been required to assist a General in Chief in the manifold details of a command; and we shall see from the character of Monk, as it becomes developed, that he was especially fitted for such a post.

Comes into possession of the family estate, through the death of his elder brother: proceeds with Cromwell against the Scots.

The first step was, to collect together a sufficient and an effective army; for Cromwell and Monk were quite of one mind in this, that a well armed and well disciplined body was the only sure instrument of success. Many gentlemen who had served in either army in the late civil contest were quite ready to buckle on their arms again; and while the Lord General attracted the one side, the Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance [2] had been of the opposite colour; so that both fancies

Counter attractions offered at this time to military spirits.

[2] This was the title borne by General Monk when serving under Cromwell.

1650. could at once be gratified. It is a universal remark, that what are termed principles are worn very loosely in civil war. "Necessity makes strange bedfellows;" and here were now many of good parts and contrary opinions offering to enlist as troopers, amidst the wreck of fortunes, in order to obtain the employment of a gentleman for the competent provision of 20*s*. by the week, and to live at free quarters, keeping their horses and themselves at the cost of a few shillings. It is the remark of an old biographer of our hero on this matter —"Some say good men are bettered by bad company, as roses and lilies planted beside garlick smell sweeter."

Anecdote: the battle of Dunbar, 3rd September.

In July, Cromwell entered Scotland at the head of 20,000 men. It has been stated, to the credit of Monk as a "Professor in the art of war, that he drew up the whole army, so that in the darkness of night, when they could not discern one another, the men received such directions as to maintaining their discipline in face of the enemy, that the next morning, when they were able to discern one another, they found themselves in a figure both defensive and fit to make a charge." No opposition was offered to the march until within less than a day's journey of Edinburgh, when the whole Scottish army was seen encamped upon a very advantageous ground. The Parliament army made their quarters as near to the enemy as possible, but found themselves in a very embarrassing position. They saw that the Scots were too well entrenched to be attacked, while the country was so devastated behind them, and every advance before them was so well guarded, that they were obliged to bring up all their provision for horse and foot from England; and thus were compelled to maintain their army by supplies from the fleet. Lesley really believed that he had Oliver at his mercy, and that the army could escape only by embarking in their ships. It was now near the month of September, and the season of the year would not permit them to depend upon these necessary supplies much

longer. As soon, therefore, as Cromwell had refreshed his troops, he resolved to retire towards Musselburgh. But the Scots would not part with him so easily; and as soon as they discerned the march, they followed with their whole body, and in the morning fell upon the English rear with some advantage. Cromwell, as soon as he saw the enemy well upon his track, exclaimed that "God had delivered them into his hands;" and he forthwith assembled his council. Fear seized many, for they saw themselves entangled in a confined position, between the sea and the heights already occupied by the enemy. "Gentlemen," said Monk, "the Scots have numbers and the hills on their side. We have discipline and despair on ours: with these, our men will fight well. My advice is, to attack them immediately. If you will follow it, I am ready to command the van." This quite jumped with Cromwell's own opinion, for it was his frequent and ever successful maxim—to attack without much regard to numbers; being persuaded that the assailants always have the advantage. All objections were thenceforth silenced; and on the morning of the 3rd of September, 1650, Monk, as brigadier, with pike in hand, placed himself at the head of three regiments of foot, and charged up the hill that was above the town, from the sea-side. The enemy depended much upon their ministers, who preached and prayed, and assured them that they had all night been wrestling with the Lord in prayer, and that revelations had been made them that the sectarian and heretical army of Agag (meaning Cromwell) was delivered into their hands[3]. Hume well observes in respect to this battle, that "nothing in military actions can supply the place of discipline and experience; and that in the presence of real danger,

1650.

[3] The first English military medal was struck for Dunbar. It has on the obverse the Protector's bust, and "The Lord of Hosts—word at Dunbar;" and on the reverse, a representation of Parliament seated.

1651. where men are not accustomed to it, the fumes of enthusiasm presently dissipate and lose their influence." One regiment of Highlanders, the Campbells, under Lorne, boldly stood to the push of the pike, and were all cut to pieces. They are said to have been the least affected with fanaticism. But the rest of the foot, seeing their preachers knocked on the head at the very moment when they were promising them victory, lost heart, and ran away over the sands to Bellhaven. No quarter was given till the conquerors were weary of slaying; so that there were 5000 or 6000 dead upon the place. This success decided the victory. Lambert did now good service with the horse; for that of the enemy, not sustaining one charge, fled, and were pursued with a great execution. All the cannon, ammunition, carriages, and baggage were taken; and the victorious army marched direct on the capital. Here Cromwell was seized with an ague, and delivered up the command of the army to the Lieutenant-General, but ordered him to besiege Tantallon and some other strong places. Monk was himself persuaded that "men were better than all ramparts;" nevertheless he speedily reduced them, and thereby increased his reputation and credit with the General, over whom he seemed to bear such sway, that in all councils of war he drew upon himself the envy of the old officers. However, when the King, having raised a new army and emancipated himself from the trammels laid upon him by the League, marched into England, Oliver left Scotland in the charge of Monk, with 6000 or 7000 men, with directions to lay siege to Stirling Castle, a stately edifice in a very strong position. In three days the Lieutenant-General made the Governor surrender a place that had continued uncaptured under many kings; and there were also taken great warlike stores, consisting of 5000 stand of arms and 40 pieces of ordnance. There were likewise the ancient Chair and Cloth of Estate, with the Sword and other rich

furniture of Royalty, which were sent off to the Tower of London. The next place Monk attacked was Dundee. Here the Governor, Robert Lumsden, having been summoned, answered with a brave spirit "that if the commander and the rest of the English forces would lay down their arms and submit themselves, he would give them passes to return peaceably to their own homes." Monk, having obtained information that the garrison were a drunken set of fellows, whose pot-valour gave them security and presumption, gave order on the 1st September, 1651, for an immediate storm; and, after a short but sharp resistance, he mastered the town; and as it was a place whither the Southerns had conveyed their persons and most part of their best goods, together with a great deal of the wealth of Edinburgh, the town was given over to plunder, and nothing but plate and money was regarded. Lumsden, the Governor, was slain, and the greater portion of the garrison was put to the sword. Monk is charged with having ordered this; but, on the contrary, "it troubled him very much [4]."

1651.

Monk takes Dundee, 1st September, 1651.

Hearing that the Committee of Estates and the Kirk were met together in Perth to use their endeavours to raise the siege of Dundee, the Lieutenant-General despatched General Morgan, with most of his horse, to surprise them; which was effectually performed; and the Earl Marshal, the Earl of Crawford, many of the nobility, and old General Lesley, and some of the leading presbyters, were taken prisoners and sent by sea to London. After these notable actions, all Scotland readily submitted to Monk. But the fatigue of these operations brought on a violent malady, under which our hero was so near sinking, that he was obliged to give up the command; and by the advice of his physicians he wintered in Bath, where he was soon restored to health; and in the beginning of 1652, he returned again to Scotland with

Submission of Scotland: popularity of Monk there.

[4] Sir P. Warwick's Memoirs.

1652. St. John, Vane, Lambert, and other Commissioners, who were charged to negotiate a union of the two kingdoms under one Government. Argyle made his submission to the Commonwealth; and the ancient kingdom, which had hitherto, through all ages, by means of its situation, poverty, and valour, maintained its independence, was now reduced to total subjection by the stranger. Monk, when the war was ended, set himself to observe well the temper of the people; and it is said that no man ever won more love and reverence in a country that it was his duty to hold in servitude and subjection, than he did. The Covenanters trusted him, and submitted to the gentle equity of his rule and to the present necessity; and the loyal Montrose party, wanting a friend, honoured one who had suffered, like themselves, for the late King; and they received from the Lieutenant-General that care and patronage which were responded to on their part by gracious respect; so that Monk now quitted Scotland leaving behind him a remembrance with the nation of great respect, which brought much fruit afterwards.

Is made General of the Fleet, and fights the Dutch under De Ruyter, and defeats them, 2nd and 3rd June.

In the year 1653, Cromwell had attained to supreme power, at a time when an anxious war was carried on by sea between the English and the Dutch. Negotiations for a peace were actually going on in London; but they were of course delayed by this change in the Government; and on the death of Colonel Popham, who had been associated with Blake and Deane in the command of the fleet, Oliver could think of no better substitute on the spur of the moment than Monk, who was accordingly summoned, in all haste, from his command of the army in Scotland, to be joined in the command of a fleet actually going to sea. On the 2nd June the fleets of England and the States came in sight. Blake commanded in chief, but was at the moment absent. Monk and Deane were termed "Generals of the Fleet," and were together in one ship,—"The Resolution:" Penn was Vice-Admiral in

"The James," and Lawson was Rear-Admiral in "The George." Between eleven and twelve o'clock at noon the two fleets engaged. One of the first broadsides killed the brave Admiral Deane, who "was slain by a great shot." Monk is reported to have instantly covered the body with his cloak, lest the loss of such "an honest and able servant of the Commonwealth" should depress the spirits of the crew. The Dutch, taking advantage of the wind, sailed to the westward, and fought retreating all the day till ten o'clock at night, their fleet keeping in a body. Tromp's design in this manœuvre was to outsail the English frigates, and, leaving them astern, make the best of his advantage. The sharpest part of the fight, this first day, was between Lawson and De Ruyter, between whom the battle raged fiercely till about three o'clock in the afternoon, when Lawson sunk a Dutch ship of 42 guns. The next morning, very early, Monk found the Dutch fleet in sight, but, manœuvring for the weather gage, it was near noon before they could re-engage. After four hours' dispute the Dutch strove earnestly to get away; but the English had the wind, and pressed hard upon them. In the midst of the action, Admiral Blake, with 13 ships, was seen from the topmast-head to arrive from the North Sea, and he forthwith led into the very midst of the Dutch ships. Tromp struggled in vain against this disadvantage, and fell, with some sixteen ships, upon "The Resolution." But Lawson, with his squadron, wheeled about, and fell upon the Dutch Admiral, who was forced to retire right before the wind, and seek for safety among the (so called) Weilings, between Dunkirk and Calais. Six of the enemy's ships were sunk, two were blown up, and eleven were captured: and they are said to have lost two vice-admirals, three rear-admirals, and six captains, with 1350 prisoners. The English had not a single ship either lost or disabled in the action.

1653.

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Blake's health not suffering him to remain any Monk suc-

1653. — ceeds Blake in the command of the fleet, 9th June.

longer in command of the fleet, he was obliged to go on shore; and a new commission was issued on the 9th June, "to authorize and empower Monk, in the absence of General Blake, to put in execution and act, according to all and every the powers, instructions, and directions" given to him; and accordingly the command of the fleet was entrusted to Monk's prudence and valour as "General of the Fleet."

Action off the Texel, 29th July.

Every exertion was now made to increase the strength of Monk's fleet, which was not only refitted and repaired, but increased to 106 men-of-war. Tromp likewise repaired his fleet as effectually as possible; and with 90 men-of-war, and undaunted courage and resolution, he attacked the English fleet off the Texel on the 29th July. The fight lasted from morning till night, without any considerable advantage to either side. The Dutch had brought with them out of harbour four fire-ships, which put the English fleet to some trouble; and one of them having set "The St. Andrew" on fire, created such alarm that many of her crew deserted her; but the captain, with the rest, remained on board with good courage, and extinguished the fire. "The Oak," also, was fired, and was necessarily abandoned; but the crew were all saved. Next day the action was renewed at seven o'clock in the morning, and continued till one in the afternoon, Tromp being now reinforced by De Witt with twenty-five large ships. Monk, however, in "The Resolution," and "The Worcester" frigate, made a gallant passage through the whole Dutch fleet; and in the struggle "Tromp's topmast was shot down; and as he could not set it up again, he was fain to put his flag upon his near masts." This slight incident was the augury of a loss that was quite irreparable to Holland. Very soon afterwards Admiral Tromp was killed by a musket-ball in the breast. This event at once decided the battle in favour of the English; and Vice-Admiral Witzer only continued the fight to enable his ships to retire in

safety to their own coasts. The General of the Fleet reported that in this last action he had sunk twenty-six of the enemy's men-of-war, and had taken 1000 prisoners, of whom Vice-Admiral Everson was one. 4500 Dutch seamen were slain. The English, however, carried off no ships, and lost 500 slain and 800 wounded, among whom were twelve captains. This was the last victory of the great Dutch war; for Cromwell, hoping to derive some advantage from the consternation caused by the death of the renowned Admiral, took prudent care to refit and repair the English fleet until he concluded his negotiations for peace with Holland. Many things are supposed to have much conduced to the happy termination of the war. One was the encouragement now first given to the officers by the State in the care that was taken of the widows of all that were slain in the service. The survivors were, moreover, rewarded with medals, and the superior officers with chains of gold. As for Monk, he had a large medal appended to a gold chain, bearing the representation of a sea fight, which the Protector himself put about his neck at a great public dinner. Nor was this bounty confined to officers alone, but all the seamen received what was called tun and gun money for all prizes; and the widows and orphans had liberal pensions out of the Chamber of Chatham. This beginning of a practice that has since been so munificently carried out in this country, is said to have been adopted at the suggestion of General Monk. There were in the fleet under his command a number of ships hired from the merchants; and it is related that before the fight commenced he shifted commanders into one another's vessels, to prevent them from having any concern in the battle for their private property. This proceeding fully answered his expectations, for no ships in Monk's fleet behaved with more gallantry than the merchant-ships.

1653.

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Peace with Holland: honours conferred upon Monk.

1654.
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Fresh commotions in Scotland: Monk's preparations for a campaign there.

New storms soon arose in Scotland. Middleton, at the head of some Royalists, had risen in the Highlands. Although Monk's successes in the war are said to have excited some jealousy of him in the mind of Cromwell, yet the Protector resolved to confide the care of the North to his former comrade, though perhaps with some precautions dictated by distrust. The General obeyed his master with all the haste in his power, but found that the army he was sent to command was composed of the most restless and fanatical men in the service. No preparations had been made by Lilburne, the Commander-in-Chief in Scotland, for active service against the rebellion; for indeed he did not dare to stir forth from his quarters. Monk's first care was to secure, as he advanced northward, all the posts capable of defence. He planted several garrisons, as well for communications as for magazines for supplies. On his march he was received into the house of Campbell of Glenorchie, which he found fit for his purpose; but the laird refused to grant it. "I will not violate your hospitality," said Monk, "but must try to carry out my intentions by force: look to your defences quick, for I am about to attack." The laird had many friends and retainers around him; but they persuaded him to make terms, and consent to receive a garrison, reserving the best part of the house for the accommodation of himself and his family. Large magazines of fodder and biscuit were established at Leith, St. Johnston's, and Inverness, from whence Monk could keep up his stores at all times within reach of his troops. He made the soldiers carry with them provisions for a week; and, thus armed, he was enabled to penetrate into recesses hitherto regarded by the Highlanders as inaccessible. His vigilance never suffered him to be overtaken in these unknown regions. His marches were always short, and on reaching his camp he marked out the enclosure, posted his sentries, and inspected every thing himself. The soldiers relied on their General

implicitly; for he always took effectual measures for their security, took charge of their food, and foresaw every difficulty. Middleton was routed by him at Loughgarry on the 20th July, and fled out of the kingdom. The country submitted; and Monk having made arrangements to secure the due payment of taxes and to prevent irregular plundering, order was established throughout the Highlands[6]. 1655. —

Returns to his command in Scotland.

In August Monk returned to his command of the army in Scotland, and took up his abode in Dalkeith Palace, near Edinburgh, a seat which he rented of the Duchess of Buccleugh; and here he resided, exercising the government as one of the Protector's Council of State for Scotland, under a Commission that was dated June 1655, until the death of Cromwell.

Monk's marriage.

This period, extending over five years, was marked by a domestic event which had considerable influence on the private life and character of Monk. He declared publicly in September, 1653, that he was married to Mrs. Ann Clarges, the daughter of Doctor Thomas Clarges, a physician. Although scandal had given out that he had cohabited with this woman for some time past, yet Monk is not known to have had a child older than his eldest son and successor, Christopher, who became second and last Duke of Albemarle. His wife is stated by Clarendon to have been a vulgar, imperious woman, *nihil muliebre præter corpus gerens.* The tastes of the old campaigner were probably not very refined; and the need of some repose after so long a service, made him the slave of a woman of an abject mind, destitute even of the charms which are wont to enthral a man. The influence of habit from a long connexion of this kind, gave her an ascendancy of will and words that harassed, and sometimes overcame, the cool immobility of her lover. She was one

[6] Our friend General Morgan, whose command of the "Red Coats" has been noticed in the Life of Turenne, was Monk's efficient second in command in this campaign.

1656. of those somewhat ignoble causes which, working continually, eventually influenced Monk to exercise his superior faculties in the great crisis. Common woman as she was, she deposited her soul in the hands of the Presbyterian ministers; and as, from sincerity or prudence, it was indispensable to her husband's success to keep up some religious appearance, she served his purpose, whatever might be the evidence of her vulgar tastes and habits. This interval of Monk's life at Dalkeith was very characteristically passed by him. He exercised the power of a conqueror, and was arbitrary but just. The Presbyterians were allowed the free exercise of their religion, but were forbidden to interfere in civil matters; to employ the arm of excommunication; or to publish any opinions on matters of his Government. The soldiers were kept in the utmost severity of discipline, but were punctually and duly paid; and indeed, in consequence of the regularity with which he dispensed his supplies out of England for the service of the Government, Scotland was never more full of treasure. It was quite incredible to behold with what humility and obedience the conquerors lived among the conquered. Trade and traffic, being free, increased, as we now know by experience that they will do, and commodities were never vended at a better price. Calm and indefatigable in his energy and activity, the General gave ready access to all who sought him, listened patiently to all complaints, and carried himself in a manner suited to all conditions, all ranks, all parties; he kept himself correctly informed on every matter, ascertaining clearly what it behoved him to guard against, as well as to look to, but sparing all useless vexations, which excite more hatred against a suspicious Government than even its vigour. Bishop Burnet says of the state of Scotland during the usurpation;—"There was good justice done, and vice was suppressed and punished; so that we always reckon those eight years

of usurpation a time of quiet, peace, and prosperity." 1656.
The Scottish nobility, towards whom the obsequious politeness of Monk mitigated the hardships of his authority, sought him, and derived from his sentiments towards the proscribed dynasty expectations which he never sanctioned, but which induced the young King to regard the Protector's State Councillor as not unfavourable towards his own pretensions. In the year 1656 a letter dated from Colen (Cologne) the 12th August, of the genuineness of which there is every proof, contains these sentiments:—"One who believes he knows your nature and inclination very well, assures me that, notwithstanding all ill accidents and misfortunes, you retain still your old affection to me, and resolve to express it upon the first seasonable opportunity; which is as much as I look for from you. We must all patiently wait for that opportunity, which may be offered sooner than we expect: when it is, let it find you ready; and in the mean time have a care to keep yourself out of their hands who know the hurt you can do them in a good conjuncture, and can never but suspect your affection to be, as I am confident it is, towards CHARLES REX."

Solicitations addressed to Monk on the part of Charles II.

A more indiscreet communication could not have been made; but it is believed that Monk immediately sent a copy of it to the Lord Protector, as there is a letter in the Thurloe State Papers, dated November in the same year, to this effect:—"I send you copies of two letters sent by Colonel Borthwick, which by means of a friend I had sight of before they were delivered. One of them is to my Lord Glencairne: *to whom the other is, I know not as yet; but I shall speedily know when it is delivered.*" Notwithstanding, the original was found among Monk's papers, carefully preserved, after his death. The anecdote is very suggestive of the exceedingly cautious and circumspect character of the General, and renders it the more difficult to understand the offer recorded P.S. to some letter of

Prudent behaviour of Monk.

1657. Cromwell's :—"There be many that tell me there is a certain cunning fellow in Scotland called George Monk, who is said to lie in wait there to introduce Charles Stuart: I pray you use your diligence to apprehend him, and send him up to me[6]."

Rewards bestowed upon Monk by Cromwell.

Cromwell all the while trusted Monk, and loaded him with favours. After the pacification of Ireland, and the flight of Middleton into Scotland, he settled on him a considerable estate out of the Roman Catholic forfeitures in the former kingdom, which was confirmed to him by Parliament. Monk always showed himself solicitous to remain true and faithful to Cromwell. Thurloe's State Papers are full of his ready desire to serve him, and of an honest independence in doing so. He speaks openly in his letters to the Protector of those who are "very great with Charles Stuart;" but "they are not in his opinion so much occupied with Charles Stuart's business as with the hope of some division among themselves."

Is summoned to Cromwell's "other House."

In the year 1657, Monk was summoned to London to take his place in Oliver's "other House." But although there is evidence that the General had no desire to quit Dalkeith Palace, to which, if he were once dislodged from it, he might not find it so easy to get back, yet he was speedily reassured in his repose there, by the dissolution of the new Parliament on the 4th February.

Death of Cromwell, 3rd September.

In the summer of 1658, after many domestic troubles, the health of the Protector began to fail; and at the latter end of August he was seized with a fever and ague, under which he sank on the 3rd September,—the anniversary of his victories at Dunbar and Worcester. By his will he appointed

[6] I am exceedingly sceptical of the truth of the P.S., which cannot be traced further back than Echard, who does not give any authority for it. It is wholly at variance with the terms on which Monk lived with the Protector, and of his known personal attachment to Oliver and his family.

his son Richard to succeed him in the Protectorate of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and the Council of State forthwith sent orders to Monk, that, as the new Protector had been proclaimed in London, so he should be at Edinburgh. The General, sincerely attached to the family of Cromwell, and in the proper execution of his duty, immediately convened the Magistrates, and, at the head of the army drawn up at the Cross, caused the ceremony to be performed with due solemnity. But the Scotch, removed to such a distance from the State authorities, assisted coldly at the formalities, and, when the Proclamation was read, made no acclamation. "Why not rather old George?" was the remark of the crowd; "He is fitter for a Protector than little Dick Cromwell." 1658. —

Monk's correspondence with Richard Cromwell, and his advice to him.

Though this was the mere vulgar talk of the community, yet there were many in the State who seriously thought of Monk as the man most fitted for the supreme authority; but there is no just ground for believing that the General himself had the least idea of it. Out of reach of the storms that were sure to gather round the capital, Monk resolved to abide the time for action, and conducted himself with characteristic prudence and caution, and with wonderful forbearance. Richard addressed frequent letters to him to seek his advice, and despatched persons with great protestations of kindness, to entreat the General's assistance. He frankly replied to these, counselling that Richard, in his opinion, should establish himself pre-eminently by means of the Presbyterian party, which he regarded as that of the nation; but he advises a religious conformity in all essential points, and liberty on all others. He warns him against the party called "Independents" in the army, and recommends the introduction of the ancient nobility into the Parliament, whenever he may call one, as men of influence in their respective counties, who might rally round his Government.

1659. Richard soon found it necessary, in order to obtain supplies to carry on the ordinary operations of Government, to call a Parliament. Of course it was necessary to summon this on the existing model; and it was soon found that the Republican party had obtained a footing in the Commons sufficient to embarrass the measures of the young Protector's friends. In all these proceedings the debates were so much prolonged, that all business was retarded, and great alarms were engendered. The army then raised its head, and found a leader in Fleetwood, the son-in-law of Oliver. He was so extreme in his politics, as to be what was termed a "Fifth Monarchy" man. The Republican party in the army was considerable. The discontented officers established private meetings in Fleetwood's apartments; and, as he dwelt at Wallingford House, the party received a denomination from that place. The Parliament became alarmed at this military cabal, and voted a meeting or general council of officers illegal, except by the Protector's permission. This brought affairs to a rupture. Desborough, the Protector's uncle, a man of a coarse nature, threatened his nephew, that if he should turn his back upon the army, he would set fire to the House, and kill all that should resist; and Richard, unable to stem the torrent, dissolved the Parliament on the 22nd April, and resigned his office on the 6th May, 1659. The Long Parliament was re-established under the name of "The Rump," meaning the remnant of such as still survived who had belonged to the Long Parliament in the former time. The numbers of this Parliament were very small,— little exceeding seventy members. They had no real influence in the nation; nevertheless, they reinstated old Lenthal as Speaker, and appointed Fleetwood their Lieutenant-General. They were scarcely in their seats before all orders of men expressed their highest indignation against them, and their apprehension lest such tyrannical rulers should again exercise their

A Parliament summoned: the army becomes active: Fleetwood's movements.

Richard Cromwell resigns, 6th May. "The Rump" re-established. Powerful political influence of Monk.

former powers. A secret reconciliation was therefore 1659.
made between the rival parties, which united in a tacit —
agreement for the overthrow of "The Rump." Fleetwood becomes the correspondent of Monk in all these matters, for he had become jealous of Lambert, who also wrote loving letters to his old comrade: and thus, while the General is living quietly and reservedly at Dalkeith Palace, he is courted by several interests, and in these heats and jealousies is already acknowledged to be considered the umpire. The Parliament had also sent his brother-in-law Clarges to the General to engage him to submit to the Rump Government. They knew that Monk was not of their party; and, had they dared, they would have sent him a successor instead of an ambassador. But Monk was in possession of the kingdom of Scotland, and assured of the affections of the people, as well as of the army under his command. The change had been so little foreseen by the General, that all he could do on Clarges' mission, was to acquiesce; for he was well aware that neither the leading men in the Parliament nor the army in London were his friends.

Bold proceedings of Lambert.

The Royalist party entertained hopes that the Presbyterian party was inclined to side with them, or at all events, not to take part against them, and had planned an insurrection in the spring of 1659, which, although it failed in its main design, yet Sir George Booth, with 4000 or 5000 men, assisted by Sir Thomas Middleton out of Wales, took Chester, and issued a manifesto against the Parliament. General Lambert was in consequence ordered to march against the insurgents; and he easily and promptly attacked and defeated the movement. This success hastened the ruin of the Parliament; for Lambert, the most ambitious man in the army, was rather more dangerous to them than Booth or Middleton. The army, at his instigation, drew up a petition which so alarmed the House, that Sir Arthur Haslerigg proposed Lambert's impeachment. The General was with his army

1659. at Derby when the news reached him, and promptly marched his brigade towards London. The Council of State, on hearing of this, ordered two regiments to Westminster, to guard the Parliament, which were placed under the command of Evelyn, who records that, on the 13th "October, he met Lambert at Scotland Yard gate, who commanded him to dismount; which he thought it safest to do, and his troop at once yielded obedience to their General, and lined King Street. Presently afterwards the Speaker, who was going to the House in his coach, was stopped by Lambert's order, and the heads of his carriage horses were quietly turned about. He then sent to stop all the members who were going to the House, and hindered it from assembling. The military, now grown superiors, nominated ten of their own body to form a new Council; and as they were uneasy about Monk, whom they suspected, they sent Colonel Cobbett to Edinburgh with secret instructions to try to corrupt his troops, and, if possible, to put the General himself under arrest; but Clarges gave Monk intelligence of Cobbett's secret commission.

Critical position of affairs in Scotland: Monk's prudence and popularity.

While affairs continued in such a distracted condition in England, Monk was greatly embarrassed in Scotland. He was indeed at the head of the Government, and of 12,000 soldiers, on most of whom he could rely, but not on all. Now this army was upheld by money regularly paid from England; for Scotland could not maintain it. The changes in England since Cromwell's death disturbed in a great many ways the peaceful Government that Monk had procured for Scotland. He was equally caressed by the Scots, whether civil or military, because he was either wanted or feared; but he clearly saw that on which side soever the advantage should turn, he was to be the victim. Around him many different interests were in activity, striving to shake his apparent immobility. Even in his private circle the respective parties had their representatives.

1659. — Price, his Chaplain, was a Royalist and Church-of-England man at heart. Another of his Chaplains was a Presbyterian in opinions, a man of intelligence and intrigue, and devoted to Monk. The General's lady, a zealous Presbyterian, was not less eager for the King than she was earnest against Episcopacy. There were others also in different employments who busied themselves in these matters secretly or openly. Among them all, Monk, calm, silent, and self-possessed, endeavoured to satisfy each one privately by some half-confidence; while he was as solicitous to conceal all he did not say, as he was desirous of diffusing a persuasion of that which he wished to be believed. Every one in his house had in turn the honour of being first dupe to the General. Beyond his intimate circle, however, the taciturnity of Monk encircled him with a dignified rampart which he never permitted to be forced. With an air of profound attention, he listened to all who addressed him, but answered scarcely at all, differed still less, afforded no room for discussion, and carefully guarded himself against any indiscretions.

Monk's cautious treatment of fresh solicitations from the King: application on the part of his brother.

Meanwhile time advanced, and it became necessary to devise means to repel the attacks made upon his reserve, and to give hopes without committing himself. Charles Stuart and the Royalists redoubled their efforts to attach Monk to their cause. Sir Stephen Fox arrived, bearing a letter from the King himself, wherein His Majesty urged Monk to march with his army against the London Government. The General received the missive coldly, but neither made any reply nor hinted any promise; but he allowed the bearer the entire freedom to depart, which seemed as much as to say that he did not forbid such messages. Colonel Atkins was charged by the Presbyterians to ascertain what they might expect from him if they were to take the field. "I shall send a force against you," sharply replied the General; "in the position I hold, I can do no less." At length there came an agent with whom

1659. it was surmised that he could not deal otherwise than plainly. Sir John Greenvil, his kinsman, had nominated his brother, Nicholas Monk, to a benefice in Cornwall. This gentleman arrived at Dalkeith in the month of August, 1659, two days after the visit of Atkins, on the pretence of a visit of affection. The General received him well, until, after a few days, he avowed to him that he was sent to propose to him to uphold the King's cause. Monk turned upon him with the bitterest reproaches, and ordered him to be gone immediately; and told him that if he again returned with such a proposition, brother as he was, he would cause him to be hanged.

Lambert is defeated: Monk seeks to be dismissed from the command of the army in Scotland; but withdraws his request.

In the present state of affairs, the wary General certainly considered that the Presbyterian party was the proper one on which he should depend: and in this he is thought to have relied the rather from the certainty of co-operation from the force under the Lord Fairfax, although he had never communicated in any way with him. Monk, however, thought that he had no time to lose, and, on Saturday, the 23rd August, he had prepared every thing for a declaration of his intention to submit to the Parliament. But he happily had detained his aide-de-camp in the night to wait the post; and the next morning brought him the news of Sir George Booth's defeat by Lambert. On hearing of this success, the Independents flocked to Dalkeith, elated by what they deemed to be a triumph over their chief enemies the Presbyterians. For a moment Monk seemed to have thought the game lost; and, whether to remove all distrust on the part of the authorities, or yielding with a characteristic inclination towards the safer course, he sent up, on the 3rd September, a letter to the Speaker, earnestly desiring his dismission from the Scotch command. No dissuasion nor earnest entreaties could turn him aside from his purpose. The reasons he alleged for making the request seemed puerile, at a moment when the cause of his King and country trembled in the balance. Never-

theless it was thought that he acted from wise and well-considered reasons, with the view of removing jealousies, and of inducing the distracted Government to solicit his continuance at the head of the troops. However, it was a dangerous adventure, and he only just failed of being taken at his word but that some members, who were his friends, urged Lenthall to suppress the letter; seeing that if it were read to the House, his enemies would have clenched the nail. As it was, Sir Harry Vane got an inkling of the existence of the letter, and more than once demanded that it should be read. But Clarges, who had brought the letter to the Speaker, interposed, and urged that it should be suppressed for ten days, and in the mean time the Parliament was turned out of doors, and Vane's power was at an end. 1659. —

Dissolution of "The Rump:" Monk marches to England to protect the Parliament.

As soon as Monk had perceived that the matter was wholly in his hands, he occupied himself in setting to work to face all contingencies. He now protested against the violence of the army towards the Parliament, called in his detachments from the Highlands, and avowed his resolution to stand by "The Rump." But on the 17th October, news arrived at Dalkeith of the dissolution of that phantom of power, and that Fleetwood, Lambert, and their adherents, had constituted themselves a Government, under the name of a Committee of Safety. Monk had already sounded many of his officers, and had assured himself of their disposition to act with him; so that he commissioned Clarges to promise to the Parliamentary leaders that he was prepared to march to London, in order to curb the violence of the English army. He at once summoned a meeting of the officers at Edinburgh (having previously dismissed the fanatics whom he knew to be adverse to his design), and thus announced the march to the South:—"The army in England," he said, "has broken up the Parliament. Incapable of rest, it is bent on invading all authority, and will not suffer the nation to arrive at a permanent settle-

1659. ment. I deem it the duty of my place to keep the military powers in obedience to the civil. It is the duty of all of us to defend the Parliament from which you receive your pay and your commissions. I reckon, therefore, on your obedience. Nevertheless, if any one of you declares himself against the resolution, he shall be at full liberty to quit the service and receive his pass." A general acclamation confirmed the General's hopes. All that was required of the officers was, that before they drew their swords, and prepared to spill the blood of their comrades, an attempt should be made to reclaim them by some admonitions. Monk was neither in a condition nor of a disposition to refuse a demand of this nature.

Monk secures Berwick, Newcastle, and Carlisle.

With great forethought the General despatched a detachment of cavalry the same night to aid the Governor of Berwick (on whom he could depend) to maintain his post, and to displace such officers of his garrison as were Anabaptists or Independents, whom he ordered to be arrested and superseded. Monk had not acted a moment too soon; for Captain Johnson had scarcely fulfilled his orders, when Colonel Cobbett arrived from Lambert to secure Berwick. He was at once arrested, and sent to Edinburgh Castle. The same step was taken to secure Newcastle. But Colonel Lilburne, who was at York, had already seized the town in the name of the Committee of Safety. The same result happened at Carlisle, where the Governor proved false, and nearly took Captain Deane and his troop of horse prisoners, while they were negotiating.

Satisfaction in London at Monk's proceedings.

Monk wrote to Lenthall, to Fleetwood, and to Lambert, to announce the resolution taken by the army in Scotland to protect the laws and liberties of England against violence. The letters were printed and distributed at Edinburgh; and their arrival in London on the 24th excited a lively feeling of joy in the public mind. The Committee of Safety were taken quite aback; for they had not dreamt

of danger for any part of the army; and when they considered the whole manner of proceeding, and the quality of the person that had undertaken it (for Lambert knew the opinion that Oliver had entertained of Monk's martial abilities, and was not a little jealous of them), they speedily applied themselves to meet the danger. They first sent down General Morgan to dissuade Monk from his engagement. This officer was one who had deservedly a high consideration. He was a soldier and a man of honour, and delivered the message as he was required to do; but he did in truth belong to the army of Scotland, and was unwilling to quit it; so he remained where he was, to receive Monk's orders[7]. 1659.

Lambert's negotiations with Monk.

Lambert was appointed to the command of an army which was to march to the North, and stop Monk's advance. He was not blind to the error that had been committed by the English army in usurping sovereign power without the approbation and concurrence of a General at the head of 12,000 men, with Scotland at his back. This error he desired, if possible, to repair; and, while he marched at the head of his troops to Newcastle, he sent forward Dr. Clarges and Colonel Talbot, both of them friends of Monk, and who arrived at Edinburgh on the 2nd November, to propose negotiations. Nothing could be more favourable to the designs of the General. He resolved to accept the proposal; not, however, with much expectation to

[7] Morgan, at his first coming to the General, asked him aloud, merrily, "If he would lay down his arms, and be friends with Fleetwood and Lambert?" To which Monk replied, If they would restore the Parliament, he had little more to say; and if he pleased he might let them know as much. Morgan answered, "I promised to ask you the question, but not to return to them that sent me, if you denied it. I am very glad I am here with you to assist you, and follow your fortunes in all your undertakings. You know I am no statesman; but I am sure you are a lover of your country, and therefore I will join with you in all your actions, and submit to your prudence and judgment in the conduct of them."

1659. conclude a treaty, but to gain time, and to place himself in the right before the public. With the consent of the officers of his army, he made choice of Colonel Wilks, Lieutenant-Colonel Cloberry, and Major Knight, who set off at once, and met Lambert at York, and they immediately stopped his forces from marching further north. When, however, the Commissioners met, and it was found that part of their instructions was to demand the restoration of the Parliament, Monk answered that he was not sufficiently empowered to treat with them on that article; and he required the Commissioners to go on to London, while he endeavoured to obtain from them a suspension of hostilities during the whole continuance of the negotiations. When Whitelock had intimation of this, he proposed that Lambert should be ordered to advance at once with all his forces, and attack Monk; but his advice was not taken. The Commissioners arrived in London on the 12th November. They found themselves cunningly surrounded by many officers, and were fed with most disastrous reports of what had occurred in the North since they quitted it. Their heads were quite turned by that means; so that on the 15th they accepted a treaty of nine articles, which were sent down with all speed to Monk for his ratification. The General was leaving the supper-table on the 18th when the two officers arrived at Haddington, and presented him with the treaty. He read it, and passed it over to those who sat at meat with him, but, after his usual manner, said not one word, and then retired into his chamber. The next morning he returned to Edinburgh, and summoned a meeting to take the terms into consideration. General dissatisfaction was expressed at the treaty, which contemplated the entire re-modelling of the army of Scotland. In the first moment of exasperation it was proposed that the Commissioners should be disavowed as traitors, for having concluded such a treaty. But the General, boldly addressing the council of officers, said, " If the army will

stick to me, I will stick to them." Upon which all present gave assurance that they could live and die with him: and this brave resolution decided the march. 1660. —

Monk's transactions with the Scotch Commissioners.

Some days previous to this, the General had called a Convention by letters to every shire in Scotland, to send Commissioners to confer with him upon matters that concerned the peace and safety of the kingdom. Many of the nobility and representatives of burghs and counties had attended the summons to Edinburgh. To them Monk had announced his design of marching into England for the defence of the public law and liberty; and he asked them to assist him in this purpose by aiding in the maintenance of the tranquillity of the country during his absence, and to make a supply for the arrears of taxes, in order to pay the troops. They desired time to deliberate; and Monk prudently suggested that they should give him their decision by meeting him at Berwick on the 13th December; where they did in truth convene accordingly; and though they admitted they could do little for public order, yet they promised money, and kept their word.

Monk's marches into England.

The General had ten regiments of foot and four regiments of horse, which composed his entire army. Of these he determined to leave four regiments of foot to garrison the citadels he had built, and one regiment of horse to maintain the communications,—all under the command of General Morgan. His own army, though small, yet, after it was modelled, all agreed in the same design, and all were faithful, and trusting implicitly on Monk. The Commissioners were sent back to London on the 20th to submit to the Council of Safety that another Conference should be held at Alnwick; and the General began his march towards Berwick at the head of 5000 or 6000 men, well paid, well disciplined, and inured to toil and fatigue. Lambert then advanced to Newcastle with his army, which consisted of from 8000 to 10,000 men, well mounted and well equipped,

1660. but without money, without discipline, and very much used to their ease and their own authority.

Re-assembling of "The Rump" Parliament.

While these military preparations were in progress, "The Rump" were not idle. They were ardently exerting themselves to re-establish their authority against the army, but without the least thought of restoring the King. They believed Monk to be their friend, as having no other view than the restitution of the Parliament. For this reason the leaders privately assembled, and sent to Monk a Commission constituting him General of the Armies of England, Ireland, and Scotland. Portsmouth, under Colonel Whetham, the Governor, a particular friend of the General, declared for the Parliament; and, on notice of this defection, the Committee of Safety sent there a detachment of the army; but the soldiers deserted their officers, and were received into the garrison as friends, together with Haslerigg, Walton, and Mordaunt, three members of Parliament most incensed against the army. At the same time Lawson, the Vice-Admiral, with his squadron of the fleet, declared for the Parliament. A regiment at St. Albans revolted likewise from their officers; and, relying on these symptoms of public feeling, Haslerigg and the others marched out of Portsmouth upon London; and Fleetwood, in the utmost perplexity, consented to the re-assembling of "The Rump" Parliament, which met peaceably at Westminster on the 25th December.

Monk arrives at Coldstream.

Monk arrived at Berwick on the 15th December, where he found Colonel Zanchy, who came in the name of the English army to urge the accomplishment of the Treaty. The same afternoon intelligence came in, that Lambert, to obtain money, had made levies in Northumberland; which was deemed a violation of the truce, and Zanchy was arrested. All this caused delay; but on the 8th Monk advanced, and placed his head-quarters at Coldstream. This was a poor town; and what made it a worse quarter was, the red-coats

had only just quitted it, and had eaten all up all the meat and drunk all the drink of the place. The General, however, was not at all particular, and found quarters sufficient for him, "when he fell to his good cheer, which was chewing tobacco,—a custom that he was wont to commend very much to his friends." However, the quarter-master soon found him better quarters at Lord Hume's, half a mile off, where he received a free entertainment from the noble Earl, who did not forget, among other civilities, to offer the Grace Cup, which is described as a "great cogue, or small wooden vessel, with two handles, that would hold a pail full;" and, what was more to the purpose, it was full, for the English soldiers had not been there before him; and "it contained so much, all as could not be drunk at dinner time; though it was said there were several persons thereabout as could drink it all off at a draught." Coldstream has obtained renown, which it retains to this day, from its having been the head-quarters of General Monk. It has "given title to a small company of men whom God has made instruments of great things;" of which all who desire to know particulars are referred to the "Origin and Services of the Coldstream Guards, by Colonel Daniel Mackinnon." 1660. —

Monk marches to the assistance of Fairfax, who is threatened by Lambert.

The winter had commenced with so much severity that the Tweed was frozen, and all the hills of the Border were deep in snow; nevertheless a messenger made his way from London, bringing the General the important information of the change that had taken place in the Government, and that Fairfax had taken up arms at York. Monk did not hesitate for a moment as to the part it behoved him to take,—to march to the assistance of Fairfax, who was in danger of being overwhelmed by Lambert; to prostrate all inconvenient orders that might be given by the Parliament, and which it might be difficult to oppose. This was the unanimous desire of his army; and on the 1st January, 1660, in a brilliant sunshine, while the frost was

1660. strong on the Tweed, Monk crossed the river, and planted his foot with joy on the soil of England. On the 2nd he pursued his march. Lambert, hearing of the restoration of "The Rump," withdrew his person by flight from the front of the Scottish army, and his troops dispersed. On the 11th Monk entered York, where he was received by Fairfax at the head of some troops of that county. This noble lord had been formerly General for the Parliament, and a Presbyterian; nevertheless he had resolved to declare for the King; but finding that he could make out nothing whatever of Monk's views, he disbanded his forces, and retired to his own house. Every man of rank or consequence hastened to pay his respects to the General, eagerly endeavouring to learn his sentiments; but his invariable reply was, "That his endeavour should never be wanting for the good and welfare of his country." The nearer he approached London, the more he veiled his sentiments. Within a few miles of the capital he met Thomson, an officer of the Scottish army, who had resided in London long enough to be the means of giving useful information in the then state of affairs, and was a true friend of Monk. He now came to meet him, and with him the General spent an hour or two very usefully. On the 28th Monk's lady and son arrived in London, and were received and waited on by several people of distinction, and lodged in Whitehall.

Monk arrives in London.

The General placed his head-quarters at St. Albans, whence he wrote to the Parliament, desiring that all the troops then in London might be removed to more distant quarters. The House was greatly perplexed at this message; nevertheless it deemed it prudent to comply with Monk's wishes. On the 3rd February he triumphantly entered the City on horseback at the head of his army, which took up its quarters in Westminster. On his way he met the Speaker, with the mace, in his carriage, and,

dismounting from his horse, complimented him with a few words. He found lodging prepared for him in the apartments of the Prince of Wales at Whitehall. The next day Monk, who had been appointed a member of the new Council of State, was invited to occupy his place there, and was tendered the oath renouncing "the pretended title of Charles Stuart." Seven members of the Council had refused to take it, and, on this plea, the General asked time to resolve; but, on this refusal, he was denied admittance, and was obliged to withdraw. 1660. —

Monk's cautious behaviour at this crisis.

In recounting the events of this most interesting crisis as far as they affected Monk's sentiments, I have deemed it best not to relate the *supposed* conversations held, as reported by Price, Greenvil, and others in his own private circle, because I think a man is best judged only by his actions. That Monk had the leanings of a Royalist, may be taken for granted; but common prudence would justify his reserve on the subject. On the other hand, if he had gone about publicly declaring that "he was a Presbyterian, and that he must live and die for a Commonwealth," while, as his detractors assert, he acted consistently for the restoration of the King, some stigma, and I think a deserved one, would be cast upon his character.

In evidence of the mixed prudence, circumspection, and vigour of Monk's character, an incident deserves to be noted. Soon after his arrival at Whitehall, a secret communication was made to him by a messenger from Secretary Scot, "that not only his power for commanding the army should be taken from him in a few days, but that he should be sent to the Tower and questioned for his life;—not doubting but that such things would be proved against him as would take off his head." Monk rewarded the discoverer, and so well provided against the danger that he heard no more of it[8].

[8] Echard.

1660. On the Monday after his entry into the capital—which took place on the 6th February,—Monk, by a formal summons, attended the House of Commons, to receive the acknowledgment of their thanks for his services. Two members of the House brought him to Westminster, and the Serjeant, with the mace, came to conduct him to a chair provided for him within the bar. The Speaker received him with a very plausible speech; but, by a curious accident, the details of this celebrated incident are wholly omitted from the Parliamentary Journals. Nothing is to be found in them at the proper date but a gap marked with asterisks. What Monk delivered in reply has been preserved and made public in a detached pamphlet; for it concerned him to speak with the greatest circumspection, and suitably to the circumstances of time and place.

— Receives the thanks of the House of Commons: his speech in reply.

For some reason or other, he refused to sit down in the chair that had been provided for him, but stood up, resting his arms upon the back of it. His speech was couched in the most modest terms, and spoken in the most submissive tone; but it is too long and discursive to be given in full. After a graceful exordium, he said, "As I marched out of Scotland hither, I observed the people in most counties in great and earnest expectation of a Settlement; and several applications were made to me, with numerous subscriptions to them. The chiefest heads of their desires were for a free and full Parliament, and that you would determine your sitting." * * * * * He represented the inconveniences of multiplying oaths and subscriptions,—probably with an eye to what had excluded himself from the Council. He warned them to be careful not to admit Cavaliers or fanatics to a share in their civil and military power. He spoke of Scotland and Ireland. The latter country, he said, was in an unsettled condition, and required the speedy passing of the Act of Settlement, which had been prevented by the interruption of the sittings of Parliament; and affirmed that there, as here, "it is the sober interest

that must establish dominion." "As for Scotland," he said, "the people of that nation deserved to be cherished much." "Nothing was more dreadful to them than a fear to be overrun with fanatic notions." 1660. —

Opposition of the citizens of London to "The Rump."

This speech was not overpleasing to many, who nevertheless dared not to discover their dissatisfaction, for the General was popular, and the most part entertained the idea that they had great need to cling to him as their last hope. The people began to be pleased with his soldiers, who, orderly and peaceable, paid their way with punctuality, and gave no cause for disturbance or alarm. The city apprentices, feebly repressed by the city magistrates, raised a cry of "Down with the Rump;" and so great was the dissatisfaction of the Corporation, that the Common Council formally resolved to pay no public taxes till the House "had voted to fill up their numbers," as Monk had recommended them to do in his speech. The Council of State assembled in haste on the 8th to deliberate on the measures it would be advisable to take against such an act of rebellion; and they resolved to order the General to march with his forces into the City and there seize the persons of the Common Councilmen who had suggested the proceeding, and commit them to the Tower. Monk dared not hesitate, for the orders to march were addressed to Haslerigg and others as well as to himself; so that, if he had refused, they would have done the business without him. But readily and instantly he obeyed the orders. It is very probable that the step was taken with a view to put Monk's fidelity to the test, for Haslerigg is reported to have exclaimed, when he heard that the General had marched, "Now George, we have thee with us, body and soul." He assembled his forces early in the morning of the 9th, entered the City, and arrested the eleven members of the Common Council. Then he reported to Parliament what he had done, and prayed them to abate the rigour of the further particulars ordered. His officers remonstrated against

1660. an act of so much ingratitude towards the City, and even tendered their resignation. The General, as he listened to their representations, chewed his tobacco, and knit his brow: "What! will you not obey the Parliament?" said he in an abrupt tone and gloomy air: and this was all they took by their motion.

Dissolution of the Common Council: defences of the City removed.

When the House next assembled, and heard the report from the Council of State of what had taken place, and had received the letter which Monk had written, they pronounced the dissolution of the Common Council, and renewed the order for demolishing the gates and chains of the city. Monk thought that obedience was still the most politic course for him to adopt, and on the morning of the 10th the operations recommenced; and from the Three Tuns, near Guildhall, where he had taken up his quarters, he issued out his orders to pull down the posts and chains, with the portcullises. The troops did give obedience to their General's orders, but in such a manner that the citizens were scarcely displeased with them. Colonel Morley, who was the Lieutenant of the Tower, and Sir John Fagg, whose regiment formed part of its garrisons, came to the General's quarters, and generously censured those actions of the Parliament, of which he was a member. The General admitted that those extreme counsels were unsafe, and that such violence would goad the people to desperation. Morley, on this, assured the General that those who held the Tower were resolved to agree with him in any matter that he might deem best for the general settlement of the public peace. Towards evening the troops evacuated the City, and Monk returned to Whitehall. The Council were astonished and displeased at being so ill obeyed, as they had ordered the General to remain.

Monk and his officers seek to regain the

On the 10th, in the evening, a number of officers waited upon Monk, to represent to him that it was time to break with a party that dishonoured him in

the sight of the nation, and looked upon himself as an enemy whose destruction they were preparing. He himself began to think that he had carried his dissimulation too far, and thought it high time for him to repair his error by an open rupture with the Parliament, in order to regain the esteem of the City. He therefore allowed himself to be persuaded by these arguments, and consented "That some method must be used for present recovery from this political distemper." He issued orders that the troops should be ready to march in the morning—acting in this particular without the concurrence of the Council of State,—and summoned the principal officers of the army to meet him at Whitehall at an early hour. In the night he prepared a brisk and smart letter addressed to the Parliament, complaining of many grievances, and peremptorily demanded that by Friday next they should issue writs to fill up the House, and set a determinate time to their own sitting. This was the crisis that established Monk's influence in all that ensued. No accident of war could have more fully assured his army to him, or have made the Parliament more hateful. "All is our own; he will be honest," was the just encomium on his proceedings. Having fulfilled all the orders he had received, he returned of his own accord to Whitehall, and boldly wrote to the Speaker, complaining that Parliament had put him upon a disobliging work that made the army odious to the citizens; but that they had nevertheless faithfully obeyed orders. Yet it showed a backwardness to repose confidence in them. He upbraided them for their delay in granting commissions to those officers who had been presented to them, and had made no provision for the support of the troops, &c. No man had ever presumed to address himself to them in so arrogant a manner, yet they took the letter with consideration, and resolved to give him the satisfaction he desired. This letter had been signed by himself and by

1660.
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good-will of the City of London: visit to the Lord Mayor: alarm of the Parliament.

1660. the other officers with all cheerfulness, and sent to the House by Colonel Cleobury and Lidest; but before the letter could be read in the House, he marched the army into the City, and despatched two persons in his confidence to give the Lord Mayor advertisement of his coming, and to request him to prepare provision and quarters. But Sir Thomas Allen was little pleased with this new visit, and evaded any answer, excepting the conveyance of an invitation to the General and his officers to dine with him, that they might consult respecting his request. Monk ordered the army to march into Finsbury Fields, and repaired to the dinner, which was fully attended. Observing, however, the Lord Mayor's constrained demeanour, he said, "How is My Lord? Your Lordship does not receive me in the same manner as usually." The Lord Mayor alleged in his justification the events of the late few days. "My return to the City," replied the General, "is for the very purpose of rectifying all our misunderstandings. Will your Lordship convoke the Common Council this afternoon in the Guildhall?" This was the body which the Parliament had dissolved, and nothing more was wanting to indicate a change of purpose.

Dinner was scarcely ended when the arrival of Scott and Robinson, as two Commissioners for the Parliament, was announced to the General. On the receipt of Monk's letter, and having intelligence of his march with his army into the City, the Parliament readily perceived that he sought an occasion of quarrel, and in the agony of their despair sought to whistle back the only support of their power; and the more prudent of the party judged it the wisest course to vote Monk the thanks of the House for his care, and to inform him that his desires should be satisfied without delay: and the messengers were ordered to assure the General that at the moment when his letter arrived the House was occupied in taking steps for the

elections, and to urge a return to Whitehall, that he might satisfy himself of the good faith of the Parliament. Monk received his old comrades very coldly, and said to them, "If the Parliament will do as I desire them in my letter, they have nothing to fear; all will go well." He then hastened to the Guildhall. Without betraying the least embarrassment, he testified to those present his concern for having been engaged in a commission so disagreeable in execution as that which was contrary to his own wishes, as well as to the obligations he was under to the City; but that he was forced either to accept it or quit his command. To give an unquestionable proof of the sincerity of his actions, he communicated to the assembly his letter to the Parliament, and the reply he had just given to their Commissioners. "I am now resolved to quarter my army in the City, and to continue among you till I see the contents of my letter and the desires of the City and nation accomplished." 1660.

Scene in Guildhall: rejoicing in the City.

The Hall re-echoed with acclamations at the General's words, and the people took up the applause from without. This was followed by the ringing of bells and the lighting of bonfires, at which numberless rumps were roasted in contempt of the Parliament. Quarters were immediately assigned to the troops, who, to the great mortification and displeasure of the General, had been kept in the fields and fasting all the time that he was feasting. In an instant every thing was opened to them. Wine and good cheer were given them in profusion, and much money was lavishly distributed among them; so that it rather endangered the safety of the community. The populace, in their ardour, were for putting the Speaker out of his house; but the General instantly ordered a check to be given to such violence; while in his thoughtfulness he repaired to the Post Office to take proper precautions for the propagation of the movement throughout the country. Over the whole face of England, on the arrival

1660. of the mails, the joy that broke forth was not to be repressed. At every bonfire rumps were roasted; and, where they could not be had, pieces of flesh were cut into the form, and the funeral of the Parliament was celebrated by these symbols of hatred, contempt, and derision.

Articles signed by the excluded members.

The Parliament saw its increasing weakness, and offered any conditions; but the head-quarters remained still in the City. In vain was Monk pressed to return to Whitehall, and to take his place in the Council of State: he took care to avoid the snare thus laid for him. He was henceforth the sole authority in England; for there remained no longer any power save that of public opinion, and the General was the exponent of it. Addresses for the re-admission of the excluded members became very prevalent; and for some time past these men had entreated him to favour their return to the House, and were at first favourably received by him; and on the 18th he managed to effect a Conference between some of the sitting and some of the excluded: but the Conference proved unavailing, because the former could not undertake for the acceptance of conditions by Parliament. Monk, perceiving that the only practical method of effecting what he feared might produce some discord in the extremity to which the Parliament was driven between the military and the members, resolved upon at once adopting a circuitous course, and with this view assembled his officers, and in their presence had interviews with Annesley, Pierpoint, Hollis, Grimstone, and others; at which Conferences some of the most moderate of the sitting members assisted. It required all Monk's tact to prevent a natural outburst of feeling among such discordant materials; but on the principle of "letting bygones be bygone," the excluded members promised to give no attention to the past, but to labour solely towards placing the future of the country on a lawful and secure foundation. There was no actual discord,

but nothing was settled; and it was found necessary 1660.
to cut the Gordian knot after a military fashion. On —
the 20th February all the excluded members then in London were assembled, and required to subscribe these four Articles:—1. To settle the conduct of the armies in the three nations, so as best to secure the peace of the Commonwealth. 2. To provide for the support of all the forces by sea and land, and for the payment of their arrears, and all other contingencies of government. 3. To constitute a Council of State for the civil government of Scotland and Ireland, and to issue writs for the summoning of a Parliament, to meet at Westminster on the 25th April. 4. To consent to their own dissolution by a time that should be limited to them. These Resolutions having been adopted, the General ordered Major Miller, his Adjutant-General to usher the excluded members to Westminster, while he himself carried back his head-quarters to Whitehall. Here on the 28th, immediately after the members had taken their seats, he summoned all the chief officers of the army in and about London, to certify them in a paper of the reasons for the re-admission of the excluded members. He frankly stated his mind, that the old foundations had been so broken up, that, after so long and bloody a war against the King, if he were to be taken back again, he could only return as an absolute Sovereign; that the Government must certainly rest in a Commonwealth and Presbyterianism; and that he did believe that the officers and soldiers of the three nations would spend their blood for an honest Parliament[9]. That, in fact, without this expedient there was no way to satisfy the nation, or to raise money for the subsistence

[9] Ludlow states of his own knowledge that Monk, in answer to a pertinent question put to him by Sir Arthur Haslerigg, said in these terms: "I do here protest to you, in the presence of all these gentlemen, that I will oppose to the utmost of my power the setting up of Charles Stuart or any single person."

1660. of the army and navy. When the Republicans saw the men whom they had so long since expelled, walk into the House, and seat themselves in their old places, their confusion was equal to their rage. One hundred and fifty members entered, who were soon a declared majority, since the Independents had left the place. The Parliament, thus restored, hastened to fulfil its promises. General George Monk was declared Captain-General, under the Parliament, of all the land forces in England, Scotland, and Ireland; and Mr. Montagu was joined with him in the Commission of Generals at Sea, notwithstanding that he had been implicated with him in the outbreak of Sir George Booth. They first repealed all the ordinances by which they had been excluded. The militia was reconstituted, and the command of it was confided to men whose opinions could be no longer doubtful. A new Council of State was appointed, to consist of thirty-one members, some of whom were notorious Royalists, and an assessment of 100,000*l.* was made for the support of the fleet and army; when, after continuing the Session for only twenty-five days, they dissolved themselves on the 16th March, after having issued writs for a free Parliament to assemble on the 25th April.

General desire for the return of the King.

In the short interval between the dissolution of the old and the assembling of the new Parliament, the General spent much time in consultation with persons of every interest, the King's party alone excepted, with whom he held no conference. But he found in his every-day discourses with men who were thought to be Presbyterians, and with other persons of quality and consideration, that the people did generally wish for the King, and that they did believe there would be no firm and settled peace in the nation that did not comprehend his interest, and allay the prejudice that was against his party; but that there must be strict conditions to which he must be bound, which it should

not be in His Majesty's power to break. Royalist opinions were no longer concealed; and the people, even bolder than their rulers, cried out in all quarters, "The King, the King!" Royalist songs were sung in the streets; and a painter, more daring than the rest, effaced the inscription which had supplanted the statue of Charles I. in the Royal Exchange, "Exit Tyrannus, Regum Ultimus." The movement went onward at an accelerated pace; while Monk, to whom every one looked, appeared not to advance a single step. It is not surprising, but very natural, that Monk should find himself under great difficulties as to the course it behoved him to adopt, and that he should be distracted with the various sentiments and opinions that were every day offered to him. His wife, though a staunch Presbyterian, had become zealous for the restoration of the King, and induced her brother Clarges to watch the General and to keep her informed from time to time how matters stood; while Clarges lost no opportunity of every incident or argument he could think of to carry out his sister's wishes. Indeed, the General found most men of quality and interest inclined to call in the King. On the other hand, Monsieur Bourdeaux, the French Ambassador, promised him, from Cardinal Mazarin, the assistance of France to take the Government on himself, and his Excellency was so convinced that he had prevailed with the General, that he sent an express to Paris, "that things went as he desired, and that Monk was fixed in his resolution to take on himself the Government;" nevertheless, it is believed that he had bravely resisted the proposal. His slightest expressions, carefully picked up, were repeated from mouth to mouth; but they only served to maintain the uncertainty of his intentions by their rarity. The Republicans spared no pains to retain and secure him. Haslerigg and others resolved to offer Monk the sovereignty for himself. "It is clear,"

1660.
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1660. said the leaders, "that they want to bring back the King; and, since the government of a single person is necessary, you are the fittest person for the office." "I have the example of the Cromwells," he replied; "and I do not split upon the rock upon which that family was split." The officers, headed by Colonel Okey, approached him from the side of the army. "There is one resource remaining," said he, addressing the General, after some previous discussion; "that his Excellency should undertake the Government; but he has refused it." "I had rather be torn in pieces by four horses than consent to such treachery towards the country." The Presbyterians were every day advancing further on the road to Monarchy. "If the King must come in," they said, "it is safest for those who made war against his father to give him the means." But Monk did not desire to march in their company, for reasons which did not in the least degree concern his antecedents. Henry Martin, with whom Monk had been intimate, asked him one day what he desired at last to establish. "A Commonwealth," said Monk; "I have always desired it, and desire it still." "I ought to believe you," rejoined Martin; "but you are acting like the city tailor, who was met lately carrying instruments of husbandry, and when asked what he was going to do with them, answered, 'To take measure for a new suit.' 'What,' said his inquirer, 'with a spade and pickaxe?' I remark, like the city tailor, people use odd measures now-a-days."

Visit of Sir John Greenvil to Monk.

The day after the dissolution of Parliament, the General went to lodge at St. James's, where, being less exposed to observation than at Whitehall, he promised himself the power of conducting with greater secrecy the new affairs which now engaged him every day. Here he was visited by many of his kinsmen and intimates, and on one occasion by Sir John Greenvil, who, in order to get speech with Monk, prolonged his attendance beyond its due limits. The old soldier was

not to be caught with chaff. "It is late, Cousin. Good night; and I am required on business." On this disappointment Greenvil conjured Morrice to obtain for him an audience, as he had to communicate matters of the highest importance. Monk granted an appointment for next evening in Morrice's room. This gentleman was a man of "fair estate reputation" in Devonshire, allied to the General, and entirely trusted by him in the management of the estate which he had inherited in that county by the death of his elder brother. He had always been looked upon as a man of good affections to the King, and had just been chosen to serve in the next ensuing Parliament, and had made haste to confer with his principal in all that he had observed. What most wrought upon Monk, was the choice that had been made in all counties of men who were known to be well affected to the King, and who were most likely to contribute all they could towards his return. This matter was therefore a fitting preparation for what occurred. Greenvil presented a letter which he had been entrusted to deliver to the General from the King. Monk, after some reserve, received it, and assured his cousin "that he was the person in the world with whom it was most agreeable to him to treat in so great a matter." He then read the letter, which was dated as far back as 21st July, 1659. The King wrote to Monk in these words:— "I cannot think that you wish me ill, for you have no motive for doing so; and what I expect from you will bring so great a benefit upon your country, and to yourself, that I cannot think you will refuse to serve me." In the King's letter to Greenvil, he said, "I am confident that General Monk can have no ill-will in his heart against me: he has done nothing against me which I cannot easily pardon; and it is in his power to render me a service so great, that I can never completely reward." The General had now become pretty well fixed in his resolution to undertake the King's cause, 1660.

1660. since he perceived that if he did not strike in with expedition, the great work would probably be taken out of his hands altogether. "Until the present time," said Monk, "I have never been in a condition to serve the King. I am now able; and I am now resolved to risk my fortune and life in his service." Then, turning to Morrice, he added, "This honest man shall be witness of my promise." Nevertheless it was necessary to warn the King that the troops composing the armies were every where averse to His Majesty's restoration; and that what he had said could not be kept too secret. He then said that he would send him back to His Majesty, with whom he presumed he had credit enough to be believed without any testimony, for he was resolved not to write, or put his hand to any paper. But he said that "if the King writ, when he brought the letter to him he would keep it in his hands till he found a fit time to deliver it, or should think of another better way to serve His Majesty." Another particular he desired to add was, that it was absolutely necessary for the King to remove out of the Spanish dominions; and that he would be pleased to make whatever communication he would send in writing to be dated from such place as Breda. It was the beginning of April before the Parliament assembled, when Sir John Greenvil set out for Flanders.

Monk sends a force against Lambert, who is taken prisoner.

Nothing now was thought of but the opening of the new Parliament, when on the very day—25th April, 1660—it became known that Lambert had escaped from the Tower. He was missed for a brief period; and subsequently it was known that he was during this time in London, where he was among some of his old acquaintance of the army As he was greatly esteemed by the troops, he induced some companions to follow him; and Monk, with all diligence, despatched Colonel Ingoldsby with a regiment of horse, and Colonel Sheater with a regiment of foot, who joined

the Earl of Exeter with above 100 of the gentlemen of Northampton, together with the trained bands of that county, to hunt him up. At length information was brought that Lambert was at Daventry, with seven or eight troops of horse and one company of foot, with many considerable officers, such as Colonels Okey and Cobbett, and many others, principally of the Anabaptist or Independent persuasion. The scouts also fell in with Captain Haslerigg, son of Sir Arthur, repairing to his standard. The troops were soon brought face to face, separated only by a small brook. Ingoldsby was going to charge, when some horsemen advanced and laid down their arms: and, in the confusion, the Colonel rode up to Lambert, and said, "You are my prisoner;" who, after making an endeavour to gallop away, on a threat of being pistolled, submitted. This vigorous measure of the Earl did the business effectually; and on the 22nd April the prisoner was again safe in the Tower. 1660. —

Monk takes his seat for Devon: Sir Harbottle Grimston is elected Speaker.

Monk, who had not previously sat in the House, was returned in the new Parliament, without any motion on his part, for the University of Cambridge and the County of Devon—a double return: and he made his election for his native county; and it is believed that this was the very first time in his life in which he acted as a politician. He had never had a seat in the Long Parliament, nor is it known that he ever avowed any political bias in all the storms of his life, until he found himself in the capital, "master of the situation;" when he avowed a predilection for Presbyterianism and a Republic.

The King's "Declaration:" letter from His Majesty to Monk.

On the 27th, two days after the opening of the Session, Greenvil returned with a "Declaration" of Charles the Second to all his loving subjects, "dated under our Sign Manual and Privy Seal at our Court at Breda on the 14th April, 1660, in the twelfth year of our Reign." There was also another paper, addressed "To our trusty and well-beloved General

1660. Monk, to be by him communicated to the President and Council of State, and to the officers of the army under his command." Monk declined to open the letter till both papers were delivered to the Parliament and Council of State, and professed all ignorance of their contents until he had a day or two's leisure to ascertain the temper of the two bodies; but he privately consulted with Greenvil about their delivery. Monk was sitting, as usual, in the Council of State on the 1st May, into which as Colonel Birch, one of the members, was entering, Sir John Greenvil, who was unknown to him, requested him that he might speak to the Lord General, who, on this intimation, came to the door, where, in the sight of the attending guard, he received from Greenvil the letters, having carefully examined the seal, and desired the guard to note the circumstance. After his Excellency had delivered the letter to the Lord President, and Birch had protested that he neither knew the gentleman who brought it, nor his business, Sir John Greenvil was sent for, and examined as to whence the letters came and how he came by them; when he replied that the King his master gave them into his own hands at Breda. Before they were opened, it was ordered that Greenvil should be given into custody; but the General, who said he knew him as his kinsman, was permitted to be his bail. Monk then repaired to the lobby of the House, and caused it to be informed that Sir John Greenvil, who was a servant of the King, had brought letters from His Majesty; and that one which he held in his hand was addressed to himself, but that he would not presume to open it without their direction; but that the same gentleman was at the door, and had a letter for the Parliament. The House received the information with a general acclamation that the messenger should be brought to the bar, who delivered the letter to the Serjeant, by whom it was handed to the Speaker, who forthwith read it to the House. After

both letters had been read, Sir John Greenvil was called in, and thanked for his care in bringing the said gracious message from the King, which the House ordered to be forthwith printed and publicly circulated. The Lords had again constituted themselves into a separate House, and had chosen Montagu as Speaker; and they likewise received from Sir John Greenvil a duplicate of the letter addressed to the Commons, and made the same orders. The Corporation of London likewise received His Majesty's communication to them with the same duty and acknowledgment; and the officers of the army and fleet thought themselves highly honoured in being recognized by the King as fitting instruments of His Majesty's Restoration, and signed such declarations as were provided for them with wonderful readiness and alacrity. 1660. —

Charles the Second was assured, in reply to his Declaration, that his people would open their hands and hearts to receive him; and accordingly, on the 8th May, he was duly and officially proclaimed at Whitehall and Temple Bar by many of the Lords and Commons, and by Monk and the army. The fleet was despatched to the coast of Holland, to bring His Majesty over on Saturday, the 26th May; and the General received His Majesty on landing on the beach at Dover, with becoming duty, and was embraced with an affection so entire and vehement, as could not have been given to any other subject. The King was accompanied by the Dukes of York and Gloucester, and repaired the same night to Canterbury in order to pay his devotions in the Cathedral the following day, when the Common Prayer was again read for the first time these many years. After service, His Majesty held a Court, to confer on Monk the Order of the Garter, the two royal brothers assisting him to put upon the General this honour. The King was also pleased to order a Commission under the Great Seal appointing Monk Captain-General of all His Majesty's Forces;

Charles II. is proclaimed King.

1660. and on the 12th July he was, by letters patent, created Duke of Albemarle, Earl of Torrington, and Baron Monk; and when he took his seat in the Upper House, the Lower House attended their former fellow-member to the door of the chamber, his Grace himself carrying the writ. Parliament afterwards granted him, upon a royal message, an estate of inheritance of 7000*l.* a year, to enable him to support his exalted station. In his letters patent, written in Latin, was read this characteristic passage: "Hæc omnia prudentiâ ac felicitate summâ *Victor, sine sanguine,* perfecit."

Observations on Monk's change of policy.

I have gone more into detail with the episode of George Monk's history between the death of Cromwell and the Restoration, than might by many be thought necessary in a matter of history so thoroughly discussed: but I have done so for two reasons,—first, because it is an essential portion of his career as a "Warrior;" and, secondly, because it is that which has given him reputation and often brought down censure. I do not think that the balance has been very evenly held with regard to him; for it is sometimes forgotten that the General was born a Royalist, that he fought and suffered for the King, and that he remained true to the royal standard until Charles gave up the contest; that when Cromwell lifted up the head of the General, and brought him forth out of prison, Monk recognized him as a benefactor that merited his devoted attachment, and that he gave it him, and swerved not from this allegiance until Oliver was in his grave and Richard in obscurity. The General never was a party man, and, as has been stated, never sat in Parliament, excepting for a few hours in that which is known as the Convention. He was never connected with the Presbyterians, the Anabaptists, the Independents, or what he himself derisively termed the "Fanatics." He was not even a politician in the ordinary sense of the word, excepting in that

wholesome advice he gave to Richard Cromwell to call the nobility to his counsels, "because they were the principal persons in their respective counties;" but the General was in heart and soul a soldier, and aspired to be nothing else. In his fidelity he had stood by the royal cause till the death of the King and the flight of the Princes; and having taken service with Oliver, he was staunch to the pretensions of Richard Cromwell until he resigned them. When thus set at liberty by both sides, he acted for the Constitution as he found it. What other line could an honest man take who found himself under an obligation to take some course? 1660. —

Monk's character as a Warrior and Statesman.

If it were not owing to the character he had acquired for his steady rule in Scotland, it may be said that it was quite by accident that he became "master of the situation." He was neither "born great," nor, to the period we spoke of, had he "achieved greatness;" but "greatness was thrust upon him." It was, in fact, but the natural consequence of his professional career. He was an excellent officer, who had his troops always well in hand. Perfect as a disciplinarian, his army was well organized; and, like Spinola, he knew how to secure the attachment of his soldiers by regularity of pay. By these means he wielded most efficiently the power of the sword. But, unlike most warriors who have attained to the like supremacy, he was not ambitious, but was sincerely disinterested. Self was no part of his consideration; he had no ambition to wield a sceptre; but when it became absolutely necessary for him to take an overt act, it was for some "Settlement" that should be most for the benefit of his country. He was too clearheaded as a soldier to be led away by the deceitfulness of what is termed *esprit de corps;* for he knew the side of duty and obedience, and faithfully adhered to it. When the army in England, under Fleetwood and Lambert, superseded the Parliament at Westminster, he hastened to oppose Lambert in Northumberland, and crossed the border

1661. to assist Fairfax against him. When he had established his head-quarters at Whitehall, and found "The Rump" already reinstated in power, he took no part with the army against them, but served them, as he had served his former masters, with fidelity, even in opposition to his own personal interests; but when he saw them wholly given up to fanaticism, he marched the excluded members back to their seats in the House of Commons, and made the renovated "Rump" decree their own dissolution, and call a free Parliament. There is no reason whatever for believing that up to this time he had intrigued to influence the public voice in the slightest degree, or that he had mixed himself in the Councils of the leaders of the opposite parties. It is not fair to judge unfavourably of a man's taciturnity and deep reserve at a moment when all his usefulness depended on his uncommitted and unfettered judgment; and yet this has been constituted as the principal charge against Monk. He kept his soldiers quiet and in good-humour while the elections proceeded; but as soon as he discovered an unreserved expression throughout the country for the re-establishment of the Monarchy, he cast aside all his wonted reserve, he openly avowed his opinion, and acted with all his might and main to effect the Restoration.

His influence and easiness of access.

After the disbanding of the army that followed the Restoration, Monk no longer retained any influence beyond that which he justly derived from his experience in business, and from a devotion the humble tender of which rendered his counsels as convenient as they were sometimes assuredly most useful. During the first years of the restored Government, the knowledge which he had of men and things contributed as much as his power to secure him a large share of influence; and the Secretary of State, Nicholas, a man of business, and for thirty years attached to his masters, said, "That, independently of the act of the

Restoration, Monk deserved all the favours His Majesty had showered upon him for the services he had rendered since that time." And the King used to say of him, "that the Duke of Albemarle never overvalued the services of General Monk." True Ludlow calls our hero a man of low, or rather of no principles, and of a vicious and scandalous conversation! 1665. —

Alarming illness of Monk: the Plague: war with Holland.

Though he was always in his place at the Privy Council and the House of Lords, the Duke of Albemarle was disappearing insensibly from public affairs, when, in the end of 1661, he fell dangerously ill. He was attacked by asthma, accompanied by lethargy and drowsiness. By God's blessing, and the use of good remedies under the skill of Sir Alexander Fraser, His Majesty's principal physician, he was recovered after long languishing. But what alarmed the doctor most was, that he seemed to have renounced the activity and energy of his former nature, until an unforeseen incident revealed the unextinguished spirit that lay concealed within his obese and infirm body. A war with Holland broke out in 1664, and James, Duke of York, having departed to take command of the fleet at sea, left the administration of the Admiralty in Monk's hands. That horrid scourge, the Plague, hardly noticed in the first instance, burst forth in the spring of 1665 with such violence, that an indescribable terror seized the capital. The Royal Family, with the King and Parliament, removed to Oxford. The Courts of Justice, and all in authority, abandoned London. Monk remained at his post, and was charged by the King with the government. Intrepid and calm, he braved the dangers of pestilence as he had borne himself on the battle-field and amidst the storms and violence of revolutions; and he now exerted himself to provide for all exigencies, while he cheerfully received every one who came to him on the business of the City. He found a useful and equally devoted associate in Gilbert Sheldon, Archbishop of Canterbury,

1665. who exercised the utmost benevolence towards those who would otherwise have perished in their necessities. The love of order and the energetic character of the man preserved property from pillage and indigence from the direful famine that prevailed; and this regained in a moment all the popularity that had formerly attended Monk, and he became the guardian angel of London. During the whole time of this sickness the General was overwhelmed with business, His Majesty's absence from the capital occasioning a constant correspondence with the Chancellor and the Secretaries of State. His secretary, Sir William Clark, is said to have written himself almost blind with the General's dictation; so that it became necessary to call in Matthew Lock, an old and trusty servant of the Duke, to share the business with Sir William. The General was also occasionally obliged to take post-coaches, and speed to Oxford, to confer with His Majesty and his Council in person.

The battle of the Texel, 18th June.

It was during the excitement of the plague that the naval fight called "The Battle of the Texel" occurred, on the 18th June. After this brilliant action the Duke of York had the command of the fleet taken from him, and from political clamour, with special injustice the Earl of Sandwich, who had been the Duke's second in command, was also passed over, the King himself desiring a conjunction between Prince Rupert and the Duke of Albemarle, to make them joint Generals of the Fleet in the next expedition. Monk requested a day to consider of this proposal; in which time he consulted with his friends, who were of opinion that he ought not to accept the command at his advanced age, lest he should lose, by the casualties of a single battle, the great reputation he had acquired. His Grace thanked them for their consideration for his person and character, but added, this was out of the case, for he valued neither further than as they tended to make him useful to his country; but he said smilingly, "that it would be necessary that

what concerned him should still remain a secret, and 1666.
that it should be understood that Prince Rupert was —
to hold the command alone; for if his wife should come to know it before he had by degrees prepared her for it, she would break out in such passions as would be very uneasy to him!" He was himself, however, as eager to accept the command offered to him as Prince Rupert himself; for he had a natural contempt of the Dutch, and was impatient to engage with them, and he could not endure the thought of being drawn aside by any consideration from entire obedience to the King's service. It was no sooner known that Monk was to command the fleet, than seamen entered from all quarters, "because," as they expressed themselves, "they were sure that honest George would see them well fed and justly paid."

Action for four days with the Dutch fleet under De Ruyter.

On the 23rd May the Duke kissed the King's hand at Whitehall, and afterwards went on board "The Royal Charles" in the Downs. The fleet consisted of 78 ships of the line, besides frigates and fire-ships. But Prince Rupert having been directed to sail to the westward, to prevent the French fleet from coming to the assistance of the Dutch (for the King had proclaimed war against France on the 10th February), the Duke of Albemarle was left in the North Sea with no more than 56 sail. The fleet of the States was commanded by De Ruyter, who put to sea with 71 ships of the line, besides 12 frigates and 18 fire-ships, and 8 yachts, which were now anchored between Nieuport and Dunkirk. Evertzen and Cornelius Van Tromp served under De Ruyter. The Duke of Albemarle, who was to windward of the enemy, and inferior to him by about 20 ships, resolved to attack him. He was supported by Sir Charles Ayscough of the White Squadron and Sir Thomas Allen of the Blue. The British line came down, with all their sails set, upon the Dutch, who awaited them at their anchors until they came within gunshot, when they cut their cables, and

1666. began the engagement about two o'clock in the afternoon. The wind blew so fresh, that the English could not use their lower tiers of guns, which was a great disadvantage to them. The action continued with great resolution on both sides till night put an end to it. Tromp's ship was so disabled at first, that he was obliged to shift his flag, and the same thing happened to De Ruyter; but nevertheless the latter sank an English ship of 50 guns and another of 70; and in short the advantage on the first day was wholly on the side of the Dutch, excepting that they lost Evertzen, who was killed by a cannon-ball.

The battle continued: defeat of the Dutch.

On the second day the wind somewhat abated, and the combat was more steady and terrible; and the rigging and masts having been in some measure repaired in the night, the battle recommenced about six o'clock in the morning of the 2nd June. The enemy were joined by some sixteen ships, which gave their fleet such a preponderance, that eight of the English fighting ships were sunk or burnt, and six were taken, in one of which was Sir John Ayscough, Admiral of the White. Monk could not refrain from showing some misgiving as to the result. "At least," said he to some of his officers, "I am sure of one thing—I will not be taken." On which he took from his pocket a small pistol, which he deliberately charged, and then put back again. The idea occurred to his officers that he had formed a resolution to fire the powder-room, in case he should at any time be in danger of falling into the enemy's hands; and they made a secret resolve to throw him overboard if they caught him attempting such a device. The Duke, however, determined to take advantage of the night to withdraw his squadron, and spent it in repairing damages with that object. The next morning the Duke held a Council of War, and addressed it to the following effect:—"If we had feared the number of our enemies, we should have fled

yesterday; but though we are inferior to them in ships, we are in all things else superior. Force gives them courage: let us, if we need it, borrow resolution from the thoughts of what we have formerly performed. Let the enemy feel that, though our fleet be divided, our spirit is entire. At the worst, it will be more honourable to die bravely here on our own element than to be made spectacles by the Dutch. To be overcome is the fortune of war; to fly is the fashion of cowards. Let us teach the world that Englishmen had rather be acquainted with death than with fear." In consequence of this magnanimous speech every one exerted himself to the utmost. But Monk was pursued too closely to execute his design of withdrawing in the night; so that he was obliged to fight all the next day—the 3rd June—as he retired towards the English coast. About two o'clock in the day a fleet was descried on the horizon, crowding all sail to reach the scene of action. This was a most exciting incident for each of the combating forces; for the Dutch expected the French fleet, under Admiral Beaufort, to come to their assistance; while Albemarle, conceiving that this was Prince Rupert's squadron, boldly bent his course towards him. Their course edged so near "The Galloper Sand," that "The Royal Prince" got on shore, and was unfortunately unable to get off again; so that, to their unspeakable grief, the English saw her fired by the enemy. As soon as the squadron joined, they bore away to the north to get clear of the sand, by which means the Dutch obtained the wind. Nevertheless at dawn of day the combined force made all sail towards them, and about eight o'clock the battle began afresh, with more equally balanced force than before, but with undiminished valour. Vice-Admiral Mengs and his squadron were first engaged, and were very much disabled, so that they bore away from the conflict with difficulty. But on the other hand five or six of the enemy's ships were burnt. The British

1666.
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1666. nevertheless continued to become disabled in their hulls, masts, and rigging; and Prince Rupert, in "The Royal James," lost his main-topmast. But the Dutch Rear-Admiral's flag-ship also got maimed, and was obliged to get up her "studding sails," and make towards the coast of Holland. At length all the powder and shot was nearly expended on all sides, when, about seven o'clock in the evening, a thick fog put an end to this prolonged and sanguinary conflict, and each fleet retired to its respective shore,—both claiming the victory. In these four days, however, the English lost twenty-three great ships, besides several others of less note, with about 6000 men and two Admirals slain. The Dutch lost only fifteen ships, with 2800 men; but four Admirals, with twenty-one superior officers, were among their killed. De Witt was on board the Dutch fleet on this occasion, and is said to have then introduced chain-shot into fire for the first time. Sir William Temple reports him to have said after the battle, "If the English were defeated, their defeat has done them more honour than all their victories. I believe no other nation was capable of it but yours."

Monk refits his fleet, and again attacks De Ruyter, and defeats him.

As soon as Monk had brought back the fleet to the Gunfleet, he sent the several ships to Sheerness, Chatham, Woolwich, and Deptford, desiring their captains to use all diligence and expedition to get them repaired and fit for service; and the Commissioners of the Navy in each yard were directed to use extraordinary care and pains in accomplishing this object. The Duke was again at sea on the 17th July; but it was the 24th before the enemy's fleet was sighted. The English fleet now numbered 100 sail; while De Ruyter came out with 88 ships of the line and 19 fire-ships. The French fleet, under the Duc de Beaufort, was expected to join the Dutch; but at the time when they should have been in the North Sea they were at Rochelle, taking in water. It was in order to facilitate this junction that De

Ruyter repaired with his fleet to the mouth of the Thames. Sir Thomas Allen, the Vice-Admiral of the White squadron, was sent forward in "The Royal Oak," with six fire-ships, to employ them against the enemy if he could find an opportunity; and on sight of the Dutch fleet he gallantly led the van, and commenced fighting with the foremost division of the enemy's fleet, in which he was followed by the Red squadron, who advanced against De Ruyter himself; and so hotly did the action rage, that it was thought more guns were never discharged in so short a time. Sir Jeremy Smith, in command of the Blue squadron, engaged Cornelius Van Tromp, and by some accident they two got separated from the main fleets. The Dutch Vice-Admiral Baucher's ship, carrying 60 guns and 300 men, was taken and fired, as well as another bearing 70 guns. Particular orders had been issued by the General to keep near the enemy after nightfall, and to make fire signals if they altered their course. The valour and experience of the combatants rendered the engagement exceedingly fierce and obstinate. Captain Talbot, in "The Garland" frigate, received eight or nine dangerous shots in his hull, and was obliged to bear out of the action, but was considered to have made more haste than was needed. "The Resolution," 58, was burnt by a fire-ship; but her crew and commander were saved. De Ruyter maintained the combat with conduct and valour; and not until it became absolutely necessary for the scattered condition of his fleet did his high spirit submit to a retreat. Pepys relates a ridiculous story of our hero to this effect,—that when De Ruyter's ship approached the flag-ship, Monk said, chewing tobacco the while, "Now will this fellow give me two broadsides, and then he shall run." It seems, however, that the Dutchman held him under his fire for two hours. "Sir," said one of the seamen, "methinks De Ruyter has given us more than two broadsides."

1666.
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1666. "Well," said the Duke, "he shall run by and by." The General summoned a Council of War after the action; and it was resolved to follow the enemy up to their coast, and to prevent their landing; which was done; and as many as 160 Dutch merchantmen were burnt by Sir Robert Holmes near Vlieland, where, under the guidance of Lawrence Vunkamskerk, a renegado Captain of the Hollanders, the long-boats of the fleet landed in the shoal water, and fired them one by one. The Dutch merchants, who lost so much property by this enterprise, united against the Orange faction in Holland, and, in consequence, violent animosities broke out between the Admiral and Captains of the Dutch fleet. Tromp's commission was taken away from him at the instigation of De Ruyter, and many Captains were branded as having misbehaved in the engagement. The English became, however, incontestably masters of the sea, which won for the Duke of Albemarle great repute; but it was the last military service of which he acquitted himself, so that it conferred the greatest *éclat* to a splendid career.

The fire of London on 1st and 2nd September.

Monk was at anchor at St. Helen's, near Spithead, the 6th September, 1666, when His Majesty summoned him to the Court. A dreadful fire had broken out in London on the 1st and 2nd September, which had almost reduced the entire city to ashes. The King, the Court, the magistrates, and the people were panic-stricken and stupified. The last, imputing all their sufferings to the incapacity of Government, declared—"Ah! if our old George had been here, the city would not have been burnt."

The Dutch sail up the Medway as far as Chatham.

On the 3rd of June, 1667, the Dutch Admiral, De Ruyter, sailed out of the Texel with 50 ships, and despatched Vice-Admiral Van Gheet, with 17 frigates and some fire-ships, into the Medway, broke the chain, and tided it up to Chatham, the receptacle of the Royal Navy. Monk was ordered to provide what protection

he could for the security of the ships and stores lodged there. He found no cannon mounted, no batteries or ammunition prepared, and Upnor Castle, built for the defence of the estuary, converted into a pleasant official residence. He collected together a few companies of soldiers to oppose the audacious invasion of the Dutch; but the seamen who were about the arsenal became mutinous, and unwilling to obey in any thing. Then the old man stood with his cane in his hand to enforce obedience, while the shot from the Dutch ships fell thick around him. One of his officers conjured him not to expose himself so unnecessarily, when he turned sharp upon him, and said, "Sir, if I had been afraid of balls, I should have quitted the trade of a soldier long ago." 1667.

In the latter end of 1668 an habitual asthma became very troublesome, and symptoms of a dropsy obliged Monk to submit to a regular course of medicine. It was thought that perhaps a change of air and regular diet would restore his health; and accordingly he repaired to his house at New Hall, in Essex, where he became seriously ill. Here his friend and coadjutor in good actions, Sheldon, Archbishop of Canterbury, came to visit him and prepare him, if necessary, for his end. But he found the hero perfectly resigned, when he answered unhesitatingly, "Why should I desire to live?" Nevertheless when a private friend named to him the remedies for dropsy of one Doctor Sermon, of Bristol, he sent for him, and under his treatment became so much better as to be able to return to London. He now took up his abode in the famous house which he had bought of Clarendon after the exile of the Chancellor, and which had been called—in derision of the sums which that celebrated Minister is said to have obtained from France — Dunkirk House. It was now called Albemarle House, and stood on the ground now occupied by Albemarle Street. During the following winter Monk, still an

Monk is attacked with asthma and dropsy: his death, 3rd January.

1670. invalid, concluded an agreement of marriage of his only son with a daughter of the Duke of Newcastle; and on the 27th December he settled his estate on the marriage, which took place on the 30th. This was the object which he had expressed a desire to live to see accomplished, and which he only just effected; for on the following day, the last of the year, he was attacked in the night by an illness which proved fatal, and died in his great chair on Monday, the 3rd January, 1670, in the sixty-second year of his age.

His funeral obsequies: dissipation of his large estates by his profligate heir.

After his death, His Majesty ordered that the body should be embalmed; and it was then carried to Somerset House, and exposed to the public view with royal state and the attendance of crowds. After this had continued for many weeks, a pompous funeral was, on the 30th April, 1670, solemnized at Westminster, which Charles II. attended in person; and the body of his illustrious subject was, by his royal command and in his sight, deposited among the tombs of the kings in the Chapel of Henry VII. No monument has ever been raised to his memory; but this inscription exists on Monk's coffin, "Quid non jaceat cum regibus per quem stant ipsi reges[1]?" For many years the effigy of the great man, clothed in his own armour, which had been used at the funeral, was kept in a wainscot case in that Abbey, and shown to all visitors; and the ducal cap was irreverently made use of by the warders in which to receive the bounty of those who came to visit it,—a custom which was laughed out of practice some years since by Goldsmith, in his "Chinese Letters." Monk's only son, Christopher, inherited from his father a great estate of 15,000*l.* a year,

[1] The funeral was, for the greater part, a military solemnity, attended by the King's Guards, of which the regiment now called the Coldstream was styled "The Lord General's Regiment," having been the Duke of Albemarle's from its formation. A troop of Horse Guards was also designated as "The Lord General's Troop."

and 60,000*l*., or, as some say, 400,000*l*. in money: but all this fortune he dissipated in a life of scandalous profligacy; to repair which he was made Governor of Jamaica in 1687, where he died the same year. By his wife, who afterwards married Ralph, Duke of Montagu [2], he had one son, who died as soon as born; and thus were extinguished the blood and honours of George Monk, Duke of Albemarle; but what became of the estate of Potheridge, or whether any of the race or name of Monk possess it, is not known. His chaplain, Gumble, records that he and the Archbishop tried in vain to induce the great man on his death-bed to endow an institution for the Commissioned Officers of the King's army, which he deferred to do till "a convenient time;" so that the military of our time may be indifferent that the stem of the hero has altogether perished. 1687. —

Monk's personal appearance and habits.

In his person George Monk was a comely man, strong and well made, and capable of enduring fatigue. His countenance, to judge by the medal of him (by Simon, struck in 1660, and that was said to be a good likeness), showed a man calm, cold, and impenetrable. I do not think that it deserves the character that has been given of it, as "manly and majestic;" for it was essentially devoid of what is termed a military air. His constitution, naturally robust, was improved by his manner of living. He rose early, was remarkably abstemious in his diet, and habitually used great exercise. He never was known to desire meat or drink till called to it, which was but once a day; and he never drank any thing but at his meal. His sight was so good that he was able to read to the last without spectacles, although he could not see well at any distance; but his ears were so quick that he could hear even a whisper with singular exactness. He was very "cogitative,"

[2] This lady became mad, and determined to marry no one but the Grand Turk. The Duke of Montagu, attracted by her riches, wooed and married her disguised in a Turkish dress, and with her money built Montagu House, the original British Museum.

1687. and, with his taciturnity, slow in judgment. His temper was even and steady, and always so much under command as to be obedient to his own firm resolutions; but it was sorely tried by his wife. She was a blacksmith's daughter, and had been married in July, 1632, to one Ratford, from whom she parted in 1649; but as no certificate of his death was known to exist when she, being the washerwoman and sempstress of Monk, married him in 1652, and by whom she became pregnant of the second Duke, it was doubted whether the child was legitimate. She just survived the Duke of Albemarle. It would take many pages to compile the stories told of her vulgarity, violence, and parsimony, with which last-mentioned quality she is said to have inoculated her illustrious partner; for he certainly is accused of having practised it consistently. He was regular and methodical in business; and so far gracious, as to give audience to all who might desire it, high or low, without any distinction of persons or parties, and he would make a particular point of reading and despatching poor men's affairs. His physical courage was not likely to come into question; but his moral courage has been illustrated by the following anecdote:—At the conclusion of the Dutch war in Cromwell's time, the seamen, impatient at not receiving their prize-money, came, to the number of four or five thousand, to demand it from the Lord Protector himself at Whitehall Palace. Cromwell and Monk, riding together, met them at Charing Cross. After much expostulation upon their misconduct, finding that they would neither listen to him nor trust him, he drew his sword and wounded several, upbraiding them for not trusting to his word, who had, as they knew, never deceived them. This had such an effect even upon these mutineers, that they retired peaceably, and in the end received all that was due to them. Cromwell greatly admired an act which was very like his own.

Whitelock observes of Monk, on his arrival from Scotland in 1659-60:—"The French ambassador reports of Monk, whom he had visited, 'that he found him no accomplished courtier or statesman.'" In fact, he was, by his nature, neither elevated nor well informed, and his extraordinary elevation made their deficiency more remarkable; nor were they softened by any courtliness of manner obtained by association with the great; for it is recorded of him by Noble, "that he was awkward and stupid in a drawing-room, and only respectable in a camp." He is said to have been a religious man, and to have maintained God's worship in his family, and to have remarkably applied himself to prayer; but he was not much given to reading or meditation on sacred subjects. He was a Presbyterian, and inclined much to rigid Predestination,—a doctrine not altogether uncongenial to soldiers, whose constant moral is that "every bullet hath its billet."

1687. — His uncourtly manners: his religious sentiments.

Enough has been said in this biography as to the incidents of Monk's most remarkable career. It only remains to add, that although he owed his high fortunes to the best qualities of a soldier, yet he evinced the highest talents for administration. His field of glory was not, indeed, extensive, nor was he ever pitted against an adversary of much renown; but his capacity was well suited to a life of action and to maturing every detail of government. This extraordinary man was a military writer, a light in which he is by no means generally known. While a prisoner in the Tower, he wrote some martial rules, interspersed with political observations, which is, in reality, a kind of military grammar. It is said to be a work that does not want merit[3].

[3] Biographical Dictionaries; Dr. Gumble's Life of General Monk; Clarendon; Rapin; Hume; Guizot; Life of Penn; Noble's House of Cromwell. Ludlow's Memoirs; Whitelocke's Memorial; Echard's History of England; Hallam.

T. H. BOUTEVILLE DE MONTMORENCI, DUKE OF LUXEMBOURG.

A FRENCH MARÉCHAL.

Born 1628. Died 1695.

His birth and ancestry.

Our hero was a posthumous son, born in 1628, six months after the death of his father, the Count de Bouteville, who was beheaded in the reign of Louis XIV. for fighting a duel. It was under the advice of Cardinal Richelieu, that, in order to restrain the grievous custom of duels among the high-born, the Count, who had already fought twenty-two, and was then, in flagrant defiance of the Royal Edict, about to fight a cartel upon the Place Royale in Paris, in open day, was taken in the act, and brought to judgment. It may well be imagined what would be the effect of the example in aristocratic France of one of the blood of Montmorenci suffering upon the scaffold for this new offence; but it evinced the determination of the

Minister to uphold the Law, and it conclusively stopped the practice. 1647. —

The young Count de Bouteville commenced his career in life with the species of *Renommé* attached to this singular antecedent of his father as largely as from his lineal descent from the Great Constable of France; but with that spirit of debauchery and love of intrigue which have characterized *le grande monde* of France in almost every age, but in none so openly and recklessly as in the time of Louis XIII., he at once became the avowed admirer of the Princess Dowager of Condé; and such was the characteristic degradation of an age of voluptuaries, that her son, the famous Duc d'Enghien, so far from feeling for his mother's shame, took the offender by the hand, and united him to his fortunes. De Bouteville served as his aide-de-camp in Catalonia in 1647, although he was at that time only fifteen years of age[1]. An elegant modern French historian thus describes the young warrior's entrance upon the stage:—"Il avait fait partie de cette jeunesse guerrière aux manières élégantes et hautaines, à l'esprit cultivé et aux mœurs fort relâchées, qui formait le cortége de M. le Prince au tems de la Fronde[2]."

Serves under the Duc d'Enghien.

In 1648 De Bouteville served at the battle of Lens with so much distinction, that the Queen Regent promoted him to the rank of Maréchal-de-Camp. When Condé was shut up in Vincennes with De Conti and Longueville in 1650, he tried to do his patron a service by the abduction of the nieces of the Cardinal, in order to force him to an exchange of prisoners; but failing in this, he went to his friend's government of Burgundy, and there raised a regiment, which he carried to Turenne's army. He was wounded and made prisoner at Rethel, and thrown into a dungeon at Vincennes; but he regained his liberty at the same

1648. — Is made Maréchal-de-Camp: is imprisoned by Mazarin. 1650.

[1] It is recognized as an historic inaccuracy that De Bouteville was present with Condé at Rocroy.

[2] Grognon.

1650. time with Condé, who made him Governor of Belgarde, in Burgundy, where he resisted the King's troops under D'Epernon; but, owing to an insurrection of his garrison, he was obliged to capitulate.

1652. De Bouteville afterwards followed Condé to Spain, and he served in the Spanish army under the command of the Prince in the Netherlands. He was present at the attack of the lines of Arras; and, after their loss, they both took refuge together in Brussels. In 1652 he assisted Condé in the defence of Valenciennes, and made a brilliant sortie at the head of the cavalry, when Maréchal de la Ferté was made prisoner. He headed the forlorn hope of Cambrai, and got into the place; but he was again made prisoner at the battle of Les Dunes in 1658, and sent to Soissons. Upon the reconciliation, however, of Condé with the Court in 1660, De Bouteville was received and pardoned by the King. At this time he gave proof of a great disinterestedness of character, when the King of Spain offered in remuneration for his services a purse of 60,000 crowns. Although far from affluence in his fortunes, he declined the gift, saying, "I can never consent to receive a recompense for service from any but my own Sovereign." He married about this time his cousin, the heiress of the great house of Luxembourg, and thenceforth adopted the surname and armorial bearings of their common ancestor.

Defends Valenciennes, under Condé, and leads the forlorn hope at Cambrai.

In 1668 we find De Luxembourg Lieutenant-General, having already displayed some eminent military qualities in the campaigns of the conquest of Franche
1672. Comté. In 1672 he was with his illustrious friend in the French army in Holland: and when Condé was obliged to quit the field, in consequence of the wound he received at the passage of the Rhine, our warrior for the first time arrived at the chief command of an army. Deventer, on the Yssel, a city surrounded by strong walls, surrendered to his arms; and he defeated the Dutch army at Woerden and Bodegrave, took

Succeeds Condé in the chief command: connives at the excesses committed by his troops.

many towns, and gained some trophies and much fame for his prowess[3]. He exercised a cruel vengeance against the people of Aland. Voltaire recounts that he personally recommended the outrages that were practised. While the confederate Spanish and Dutch army, under the Prince of Orange, undertook the siege of Charleroi in December, Luxembourg on this occasion evinced that quality of audacity which is the true evidence of military genius. He got together a body of horse and foot, numbering 40,000 men, and resolved to make his way across the ice to the very capital city of the Hague, where the States-General were in Session[4]. He had nearly reached Suvamerdam, when he encountered the opposition of the enemy's force under Count Königsmark; and here a sudden thaw effectually stopped his march, and he very nearly lost his life by a fall from his horse. These incidents put a stop to the bold and hazardous expedition, and he was glad to withdraw his army into winter-quarters; but he made good his retreat to Charleroi, without the loss of any of his baggage, in the face of 70,000 enemies. In this retreat, however, he again gave way to the reprehensible practices above alluded to. His soldiers were permitted to give loose to every excess, ravaging the country in all directions. The greatest crimes were committed, and with so little compunction, that both the minister Louvois and his Master enjoyed the merriment with which Luxembourg recounted the adventures of his officers and men. Even Condé, although not over-nice in morals, remarked with some sagacity, "Je ne sais s'il est de l'interêt du Roi de continuer cet affreux système."

1672. —

In 1674 he was in command of the right wing of 1674.

[3] It was in this campaign, according to Voltaire, that Martinet introduced the bayonet for the first time, into some few regiments.

[4] Voltaire asserts that 120,000 men were put upon skates for this movement!!

1674. Condé's army at the battle of Senef; but, after a bloody contest of three hours, he failed to get possession of the village out of the hands of the Dutch; and, as is well known, that sanguinary trial of strength between the French and Dutch armies remained indecisive. The death of Turenne, and the increasing infirmities of the Prince de Condé, brought M. de Luxembourg to the first rank of the captains of Louis XIV. In 1675 he had the command of the army that overran Franche Comté; and while so acting, the name of Luxembourg was included, on the 30th July, among the eight new Marshals of France who were nominated in that year, and who were called in derision "the small change of Turenne," because that illustrious hero had fallen on the battle-field a few days previously.

— Distinguishes himself at the battle of Senef: commands in Franche Comté.

1675.

In 1676 the Duc d'Orleans, brother of Louis XIV., obtained the command of an army, but Luxembourg was associated with him in the quality of what has been termed "dry nurse;" but little was effected beyond obliging the Prince of Orange to raise the siege of Charleroi. But in 1677, the King of France considered it his interest to attempt to achieve some decisive success, in order to satisfy his people, and bring the war to a conclusion. With this view he took the field in early spring, and resolved to render it the Pré Carré of his favourite engineer Vauban, by the acquisition of Valenciennes, Cambrai, and St. Omer. The trenches were opened before the first-named place on the 1st March; and, judging from the feebleness of the defence that circumstances were favourable, this great fortress was assaulted and carried in open day on the 17th of the same month. The army at once proceeded to open trenches before Cambrai on the 28th, and that place also capitulated on the 4th April. No time was lost in following up this success by sitting down before St. Omer; but the Prince of Orange exerted himself to stop the French King, and brought down an army into the plains to interrupt

1677. Capture of Valenciennes, Cambrai, and St. Omer.

the siege. To replace the men which had been lost 1677.
in so many sieges and battles, the King was advised —
not to rely, as usual, upon the recruits out of the militia, but to cause the *ban* and *arrière-ban* to march; and these, under the command of the Marquis de Rochefort, were called up to defend the trenches, while the entire besieging force went forth to meet the enemy. The action took place on the 11th April, and was termed the battle of Cassel; and the honour of the day was assigned to the two Maréchals D'Humières and De Luxembourg, who commanded the two wings under the Duke of Orleans; and nine days subsequently St. Omer surrendered. Scarcely any other event distinguished the campaign of 1677 on the side of the Netherlands, excepting that Luxembourg successfully opposed the Prince of Orange in his second attempt to form the siege of Charleroi. He nevertheless suffered Philipsbourg to be taken in his sight
by the Duke of Lorraine. In 1678 Ghent and Ypres 1678.
surrendered to the French army; but on the 14th August, while the negotiations for a peace were going on at Nymeguen, the outposts of Luxembourg, while investing Mons, were suddenly attacked by the Prince of Orange. The Marshal, with great difficulty, resisted; and it was not until after a frightful carnage had taken place about St. Denys, where he had his head-quarters, in which 6000 men were sacrificed, that the Maréchal collected his troops together, and retreated towards Mons, of which place he got possession in a few days. Both parties were now informed that the peace was signed; and hostilities ceased about the middle of September.

Luxembourg committed by Louvois to the Bastille.

Luxembourg had now time to rest upon his laurels; but he contrived to get mixed up in a scandalous affair of the time, which brought upon him a *lettre de cachet*, and a committal to the Bastille, from which he was not liberated till 1680. Louvois, the dispenser of all Court favour, was a man of the most implacable temper,

1678. and had no affection for Luxembourg. There was a dreadful prevalence at this time in France of the crime of poisoning; and the case of the notoriously infamous Marquise de Brinvilliers is known to have created such a sensation, that Louis XIV. resolved, by a Decree of April 1679, to establish an especial tribunal to try all persons suspected of the crime. Luxembourg, from his deformed figure and reckless conduct, was already very generally regarded as a man in league with the devil; and his name was included with the Countess de Soissons, mother of the celebrated Prince Eugene, in the revelations of De Brinvilliers. Luxembourg, like his sisters in affliction, was too indolent or sure of his innocence to defend himself or seek to evade the accusation, and permitted himself to be shut up with them in the Bastille. After six weeks' confinement, owing to the malevolence of the minister, he was brought up to answer the distinct allegations of the witnesses brought against himself, who charged that he had sought the aid of "les empoisonneuses" to advance his object of obtaining the government of a province, and the marriage of his son to a daughter of Louvois. He replied in a characteristic manner to these charges,—that it was scarcely necessary for a person of his birth and reputation to have sold himself to the devil to attain either of these objects, inasmuch as his services had fairly earned the first; and as to his son's marriage, a Montmorenci by blood was an alliance even for the most powerful minister of the King to desire. "When Matthieu de Montmorenci," said he, "married a Queen of France, he addressed himself not to the devil, but to the States-General of the Kingdom, who deemed it the interest of the country to conclude the marriage." Luxembourg was nevertheless remanded to prison, where he remained for fourteen months, and was only absolved by a Royal Decree in May 1680, when he had the honour of being made Captain of the "Garde

Prevalence of the crime of poisoning.

1680.

de corps" of Louis XIV., but was left in the temporary obscurity of an eclipse of the royal countenance. 1680. —

In the new war that broke out in 1690, Louis XIV. found, that, having lost so many of his warriors by death, or by the ardent spirit of Catholicism that had shaped his policy under the influence of Madame de Maintenon, he was now under the necessity of drawing forth from retirement and disgrace the Maréchal de Luxembourg, and he gave him the command of the French army that was sent to oppose King William on the side of the Netherlands. The Marshal commenced the campaign by making a demonstration on the side of Ghent, where the Spanish General Castanaga commanded; and thence, towards the end of June, he turned aside by a quick movement to oppose the Prince of Waldeck, who, in the absence of the Prince of Orange in England, commanded the Dutch and German contingents, and who was only awaiting the arrival of an army of the Elector of Brandenburg to fall with a considerable force upon the French frontier. On the 30th June Luxembourg arrived in face of the enemy, and, with his adventurous spirit, he at once reconnoitred their strength and position. He found Waldeck at the head of 40,000 men, occupying a strong position in the rear of the villages of St. Amand and Fleurus. It was on this occasion that our warrior evinced the genius and audacity that signalized his military character. He resolved not to defer for a moment an attack, because the Marquis de Boufflers had opportunely sent up a detachment of troops that rendered his army nearly equal to that of his opponent, and he devised a new piece of strategy which effected a wonderful result. Somewhat rashly, he placed only a portion of his army in line of battle, the command of which he entrusted to his able Lieutenant the Count de Gournay, while he led the remainder of his force, altogether out of Waldeck's sight, round by his left flank, which fell upon the rear of the Confederates.

1690. Is sent to the Netherlands: defeats Waldeck at Fleurus, 30th June.

1690. — This is regarded as a singular example of that military quality denoted by the expression "coup d'œil." He saw with a quick glance the opportunity, and that the ground would conceal the movement, and he judged with surprising correctness the time that the manœuvre would occupy, while the quick and resolute manner of his action insured its success. Waldeck had chosen his own position on an elevation behind the Orme, placing the principal part of his infantry at Ligny. The consequence of De Gournay's unexpected presence behind the enemy's right was a panic, under which that flank fled, and the guns and infantry were so shut up that they could not escape. In this action the whole of the baggage and artillery was taken, and the enemy completely routed and put to flight.

1692. Captures Namur, 20th June: Defeats William III. at Steenkirk, 3rd Aug.

In 1692 the army of Luxembourg was posted on the banks of the Mehaigne, while Louis XIV. was carrying on the siege of Namur, where Vauban commanded the attack, and Coehorn the defence. He effectually prevented the passage of William III., who endeavoured to raise the siege; and the place surrendered upon terms on the 20th June. The allies were not strong enough to prevent this result, which was a real mortification to the King, who was far superior in force to Marshal de Luxembourg. Louis XIV., content with this the first success that he had achieved in the absence of Louvois "entirely from his own bat," forthwith quitted the army, and joined his ladies at Dinant, to return to Paris. Luxembourg, after refreshing his troops till the 13th July, passed the Sambre in order to protect Mons, and towards the end of the month took up an encampment at Enghien, resting his right at Steenkirk. Here King William, impatient to avenge the capture of Namur, resolved to attack the French on 3rd August. Very early in the morning the Prince of Waldeck led the way through a close defile, and about nine or ten o'clock fell suddenly upon Luxembourg's advanced posts, and lodged his

troops in the wood that fronted the French army. He opened his guns forthwith, under cover of which the main body moved to the attack. The French line was thrown into complete disorder; but the Prince de Conti and the Duke de Bourbon, both nephews of the great Condé, rallied their brigades, and retrieved the day; and the young Philip of Orleans (subsequently Regent), at the early age of fifteen, charged nobly at the head of the Royal Guard, and beat the Confederates off the plain and out of the wood. Luxembourg was at this time indisposed,—an unfortunate circumstance at a juncture which required all his strength and vigour. The sense of danger, however, reanimated his strength. To prevent a defeat, he performed wonders: he changed his ground in the face of the enemy, in order to give his army a more convenient position to fight in. He himself recovered a brigade that had fallen into confusion, and, charging at the head of the household troops three several times in less than two hours, rallied the entire army. The King accordingly put his army in retreat for Hal or Halle, leaving about 2000 dead upon the field, and many guns. The French, however, obtained a bloody victory, as they acknowledged to the loss of 6000 or 7000 men, killed and wounded. It was asserted that Luxembourg had a spy in the King's camp, one Mallevoix, who was discovered, and made to write false advice to the French Marshal, which occasioned him to be surprised. This fellow was hanged before the Confederate army, a day or two after the battle. Extravagant was the joy expressed for this success at Paris, not so much on account of its incidents or results as for the number of princes and nobles who took part in it; so that, as is common enough with the French people, all the novelties of fashion were called by the name of Steenkirk, and all the young men who had shared in the victory became *à la mode* in Parisian society. 1692. —

The year 1693 opened with a considerable advance 1693.

1693. — Louis XIV. invades the Low Countries, June: but suddenly returns to Versailles.

in the design of the French King upon the Low Countries. In the early spring, or in the winter, he ordered Furnes and Dixmude, in Maritime Flanders, to be seized and occupied, in order to restrain King William from any designs he might entertain against Dunkirk; and the French King spoke of the coming campaign as "campagne de decision et de crise;" for it was understood that he meditated an enterprise against Liege; to frustrate which, the English assembled 15,000 men under the walls of that city. Louis XIV., however, when preparing the means, was deprived by death of Louvois, the able coadjutor who had aided his former means for taking the field. The arrangements of Louvois had been always most admirable. Ammunition, provisions, pontoons,—all were thought of, planned, and considered with wonderful precision and forethought, and placed in every detail before the eyes of the King at the beginning of a campaign.

Now, in June, Louis XIV. took the field with his accustomed state, accompanied by Madame de Maintenon, and a complete Court of ladies. The entire French force that crossed the Sambre numbered 120,000 men, under the personal command of the King, while another army, under Luxembourg, was in the neighbourhood of Mons. The intention being openly to attack the English King, he assembled his army at the strong position of Perck, near Louvain, at the junction of the roads to Liege and Brussels, where he awaited their further proceedings. To the astonishment of the combatants, a sudden determination was taken by Louis XIV. to detach 34 battalions and 76 squadrons under Boufflers to assist his brother on the side of Germany, while his Majesty himself returned to Versailles; and after this he never again took the field in person. St. Simon relates that Luxembourg implored the King on his knees not to lose the opportunity offered him of ending the war by the

annihilation of his antagonist. But his Majesty had taken the field for the enjoyment of the siege of Liege, not for a campaign in the field, which had never been to his taste; and he was inexorable. His Parisians, however, amused themselves at his expense by pretending that a lack of courage occasioned his Majesty's speedy return to his palace. 1693.

The Maréchal defeats William III. at Neerwinden, 28th July.

On the departure of the King, Luxembourg placed his head-quarters at Mildert; for the position of Perck was too strong for the French Maréchal to attempt with his diminished army. He still retained nearly 60,000 men under his orders; but the English had received a reinforcement from Count de Tilly, and the Maréchal felt himself under the necessity of trying to manœuvre his antagonist out of the position which he did not venture to assail. He despatched Villeroy to invest the little town of Huy, of which he obtained possession; and William was induced to quit his camp, and take post behind the little river Lander, where he took a position upon some elevated ground, extending from Neerwinden on his right, to Neerlanden on his left. He forthwith strengthened the ground with light earthworks, and placed 100 guns in battery along his front. Luxembourg arrived in front of the King on the 28th July, and at once attacked an outlying post in the village of Landen, which was abandoned without a struggle, and the two armies passed the night almost in contact. Luxembourg was enabled to form his army in four lines of attack under the cover of this position, which took place at early morning, the columns breaking into march with surprising steadiness under the fire of all the Confederate artillery. Six battalions were directed against the village of Neerwinden, which was surrounded with earthworks, and stood rather in advance of the enemy's line, like a bastion before a curtain. The dispute was hot; but the enemy was at last obliged to yield possession of the entrenched village to

1693. the French. The Elector of Bavaria, however, drove them out again with a great slaughter. A second attack was led by the Duke of Berwick, who was recognized by his kinsman Churchill, and, with his aide-de-camp Achmuty, was here made prisoner. But the French obtained possession of Neerwinden a second time, from which they were again driven out. These villages were taken and retaken, sword in hand, over and over again, occasioning great carnage. At length Luxembourg placed himself in person at the head of the French and Swiss guards, to try to carry the village of Neerwinden by a last effort, and he succeeded in gaining it. The Prince of Conti, with the French brigades, charged so vigorously, that the Confederates were obliged to give way, and the French remained masters of all the avenues of the village; on which Luxembourg called up five squadrons of horse, and sent them through a narrow passage, that led them behind a very stout hedge, in the rear of which the enemy's infantry had poured a deadly fire on their several attacks. King William now called on the British Guards to follow him for a last attempt to recover the village. But Luxembourg had already discovered that his Majesty had drawn too many troops from his left flank; so that he ordered De Feuquieres to carry the cavalry across the Landen, and assail the village of Neerlanden. The King, on sight of this new irruption of the enemy, refused his right flank, and the battle became a confusion of charges of cavalry on the plain which the French had attained from both flanks; and the enemy's infantry and artillery were withdrawn into Lewe, where they got so wedged in, that when the King resolved to retreat, and had already ordered it upon Neershespen and Dormel, Luxembourg came upon the park of artillery, and captured seventy-six guns. Few fights were ever so bloody. The loss on both sides was very great: the conquerors and the conquered lost 8000 or 10,000 men; but the standards

1694. — taken by the French were so numerous, that when Luxembourg sent them to Paris to be deposited in the Cathedral, the Parisians styled him, "le tapissier de Notre Dame." He despatched them by his aide-de-camp, Monsieur D'Artignan, with this letter to the King:—"My officer, who will have the honour to deliver this to your Majesty, can give a better account of the battle than I can write. Your enemies did wonders; and your troops still greater things. For myself I claim no other merit than that of obeying your Majesty's commands. You ordered me to take a fortress, and to gain a battle; and I have done both." Louis XIV., always ready to make a polite reply, said, on seeing the despatch, "Luxembourg a attaqué en Prince de Condé, et le Prince d'Orange a fait sa retraite en Turenne." The fruit of the victory was the reduction of Charleroi under Vauban, after a siege of twenty-six days: but the Parisians would not lose their joke; when called on to sing a "Te Deum," for the victory, they remarked that they had better hear a "De Profundis" for the number of dead left upon the bloody field[5]."

Luxembourg delivers over the army to the Dauphin, 20th May: fruitless campaign.

Both Luxembourg and Villeroy had quitted the army in order to pass the winter season at Paris and Versailles, to concert matters with reference to the ensuing campaign, and it was the 20th May before Luxembourg established his camp near the Sambre, in order to deliver it over to the Dauphin, to whom was to be given the chief command for his "coup d'essai" in 1694. His Royal Highness followed on the 22nd, accompanied by the Dukes of Chartres and Bourbon, and other princes and grandees; and head-quarters were established at Gemblours, where he drew up the entire army in review. It was composed of 164 squadrons and 40 battalions,—in all 18,780 men. The detached army under Boufflers

[5] It had been reported that 8000 Frenchmen had been buried in and about the village of Neerwinden; but the Allies left many more behind them on the field of battle than the French.

1694. numbered 12,000 men, and that under Maréchal de la Valette 8000, added to which the Marquis d'Harcourt's 226 squadrons would make 91,320 men. The King's army was formed up within a day's march of the French. Their right, covered by the villages of Tourine and Bavenheim, and their left by Sluys and Meldert, behind the river Dyle, consisted of 176 squadrons and 95 battalions, amounting in all to 95,000 men. The general want of money, the shortness and lateness of the crops, owing to an unfavourable spring, and the sickness that pervaded both armies, were the causes from which originated the necessity of an idle and fruitless campaign. The Dauphin had the prudence to defer to the "vieux moustache," however trying it was to a young warrior to be unable to flesh his sword.

Masterly manœuvre of Luxembourg at Courtrai, August.

At length the necessity of obtaining supplies put King William in motion about the middle of August, and he moved his army to the Sambre. This set the Dauphin in movement, who directed the march of his army up the Meuse. The King then turned rapidly towards the Scheldt, as if to obtain the country about Courtrai and Menin for winter-quarters. Notwithstanding the surprise caused by this exhibition of the King's intentions, Luxembourg had learnt the art of manœuvring in the school of Turenne, and soon evinced his master-spirit. He led the French army from the neighbourhood of Beguemont to Tournay, on the Scheldt, in defiance of the foe. This rapid march so pleased Louis XIV., that he sent an autograph letter to the Maréchal, and commanded that it should be read before every battalion and squadron in the French army.

1695. His death, 4th Jan.

This campaign terminated the military career of Maréchal de Luxembourg. This great commander had never been a favourite at the Court of Louis XIV.; but when it was known that his enfeebled frame, exhausted by war and indulgences, was sinking under

a fatal disease termed peripulmonie, his services were for the first time fully appreciated. The Royal Physicians, Fagon and Curetti, were sent to prescribe for his bodily ailments, and the famous Father Bourdaloue was desired to go to his bedside, and "minister to the mind diseased," and direct it towards heavenly things. But neither prayers nor prescriptions availed any thing, and he expired at Versailles on the 4th January, 1695. "How glad the Prince of Orange will be," said Louis XIV., "when the news of our great loss reaches him!" 1695. —

His personal appearance and character.

Luxembourg is said to have had a disagreeable countenance, as well as a deformed figure. But, unlike most "bossu" persons, he could be pleasant on his deformity. King William is said to have exclaimed after one of his defeats, "What, shall I never beat this humpbacked fellow?" But his old opponent, when this was repeated to him, replied, "What does he know of my back? He never saw it." St. Simon, who knew the Maréchal very well, says, "Ce qui ne peut comprendre de qui ne l'a pas vu: il avait une figure d'abord fort rebutante, mais à laquelle on s'accoutumait, et qui malgré une bosse, médiocre par devant, mais très grosse et fort pointue par derrière, avec tout le reste de l'accompagnement ordinaire des bossus, avait un feu, une noblesse et des grâces naturelles, qui brillèrent dans ses plus simples actions." Accordingly he was a celebrated *roué* among women, and involved in numberless intrigues of gallantry. Even when approaching threescore years and ten, he lived among a coterie of the fastest young ladies, substituting, "au défaut de bonnes fortunes," the attractions of an elegant house, luxurious suppers, and the associations of all the pleasantest and cleverest young fellows of the day, "de sorte qu'il avait soin que le sexe y fut agréablement mêlée."

His popularity with the army.

Luxembourg had the art to attach to himself the confidence of his soldiers to a very high degree, so that they were ready to follow him in the most daring

1694. adventures with ardour; and his bravery was so remarkable, that it led them to certain success. He was especially remarkable for the exactitude of his "coup d'œil," a quality of a general not so much insisted upon in modern times as it was in the seventeenth century, but which is not only valuable in determining a point of weakness in an enemy, but in observing and noting the varieties of ground and the features of a landscape. This same quality is often remarkable in our own country life among fox-hunters. Luxembourg was distinguished by great forethought; but yet he was the most indolent of men, and left every detail to General Puysegur, his Chief of the Staff, who undertook to arrange the movements and the subsistence of his army. Indeed, he was a difficult man to serve; for he would not allow himself to be disturbed whenever he was at play, or with associates of pleasure, male or female: on such occasions he was totally inaccessible, even to Puysegur. But, on the other hand, his boldness in military enterprise, and his *sang froid* in danger, ensured eminent success, while utterly regardless of the severest fire. As a soldier he was really a great captain: as a man he was despicable to the last. He gave up most of his days to the "grand monde," and all his nights to pleasure, and he died a mere animal, without any of the aspirations of humanity; for he had neither a thought for his soul, nor any consideration for an after life[6].

[6] Histoires de la France, Trognon and Sismondi; Militair Conversations Lexikon; Dangeau; Mémoires de St. Simon; Mémoires du Marquis de Feuquières; Biographie Universelle.

FREDERICK WILLIAM, ELECTOR OF BRANDENBURG.

THE GREAT ELECTOR.

Born 1620. Died 1688.

The Houses of Brandenburg and Hohenzollern.

THE family of Brandenburg is of great antiquity among the governing families of Germany, but it attained to no importance in the Empire until it was constituted Margraf, or Governor of the March, or frontier. This office, as is well known, was established in feudal times to keep in awe the "outside barbarians," as in the case of the Marches of Wales and the Palatine counties, and was therefore a position of great trust and importance. The ancient Dukes of Brandenburg were not raised to the dignity of Elector until the twelfth century, under the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa. The House of Hohenzollern, which is that of the reigning family of Prussia, was not admitted to the Electoral dignity until the fifteenth century, when the Emperor Sigismund conferred it,

1640. together with the hereditary office of Arch-chamberlain of the Holy Roman Empire, upon the Elector Frederick I., who made himself respected at home and abroad, and established the power and influence of his State. To him succeeded Frederick II., "of the iron teeth," who enlarged its boundaries with many towns and dependencies, and even claimed a right over the neighbouring provinces of Pomerania and Mecklenburg. In the seventeenth century John Sigismund, Elector of Brandenburg, added to his territories the Duchies of Juliers, Cleves, and Berg, and eventually engrafted into them the fief of Prussia, which has given its name to this nation of Germany. The country of Prussia was a province of Poland, comprising all the governments in the basin of the Vistula. It had been possessed by the Teutonic Order, of which the Margraf Albert was Grand Master in the beginning of the sixteenth century, who, taking it out of the hands of the Knights of the Order, appropriated it to himself. Both Sigismund, King of Poland, and the Emperor Charles V. endeavoured to prevent this aggressive act; but the Brandenburg sovereigns nevertheless retained peaceable possession of the Duchy, and it descended from father to son as a fief of the kingdom of Poland, from which, upon their accession to the sovereignty, they regularly received investiture. After the many casualties to which the State had been subjected by "The Thirty Years' War," it came into the possession of our Warrior in 1640. This young Prince was the son of Georg Wilhelm, who had struggled hard, but with eventual success, to maintain his Electorate against the iron hand of Gustavus Adolphus and the double-dealing of John George, Elector of Saxony. It was in the midst of this struggle, and at the early age of twenty years, that Frederick William assumed the direction of affairs in the Electorate. He had been sent from the Court by his father, at the instance of the Count Schwarzenberg, who it was

Frederick William obtains the Electorate.

thought aspired to obtain the Electorate for himself by getting rid of the only scion of the reigning family, who was thus removed from the eyes of his people. The young Elector was at the period of his accession learning the rudiments of war under the Stadtholder of Holland, Frederick William. He was acquiring military skill at an age when the generality of mankind are seeking only for amusement. He was actually serving at the siege of Breda when he was summoned to assume the reins of government. He found his succession in great part in the hands of the Swedes, who had reduced the Electorate to a most deplorable condition, which, at the time when the Elector took possession, is described by Frederick the Great in the following terms:—"Un désert affreux, où l'on ne reconnaissait les villages que par le monceau des cendres, qui empêchait l'herbe d'y croître, et les villes par les décombres et des ruines." The Electorate had sunk thus low from 1640, after the unutterable calamities of those times. Nor were the Duchies of Cleves, Juliers, and Berg in better circumstances; for they were in the hands of the Dutch, who exacted exorbitant contributions under the pretext of undertaking their defence. Thus our young Prince began his reign without territories;—a successor by inheritance, but an Elector without power. Yet he gave early indications of consummate wisdom, and of every quality that could render him worthy of sovereignty. He soon exhibited the characteristics of "a clear-eyed man." Although surrounded by untrustworthy servants, from the minister Schwarzenberg downwards, he applied himself with earnest diligence to repair the losses and devastations which his dominions had sustained. He obtained the investiture of the Duchy of Prussia by personal application to the King of Poland, and that of the Electorate through his envoy at the Court of the Emperor Ferdinand III. He then proceeded to recover by force those possessions which had been for the moment wrested from

1640.
—

His military training and earliest service.

Depressed condition of the Electorate on his accession.

Obtains the investiture of the Duchy of Prussia.

1642. his rule. He succeeded in recovering Pomerania from the Swedes, the Duchy of Cleves from the Hessians, and Juliers and Berg from the Dutch. The commanders of the principal fortresses had, through the influence of the Minister, been brought over to the Emperor's interest; but our young Elector succeeded in obtaining entrance into Spandau and securing possession of that place to himself.

In the year 1642 Torstenson invaded Silesia; and Gallas was sent by the Emperor to eject him. Both their armies accordingly passed through the Electorate of Brandenburg, and these "Merods Brüder" (or "Marauding Brothers," as they were called) laid the

1645. Enters into treaties with the Queen of Sweden and the King of Poland.

country waste. But in 1645 the Elector got both those armies out of his territories, and set himself to free the country for the future from such unwelcome visitors by entering into treaties with the Queen of Sweden and the King of Poland. It did not escape the young Elector's penetration, that the Holy Roman Empire, to whose traditional interests his family had been long devoted, had already begun to fade, and that its decrepit constitution could not last long. He therefore resolved by a consistent and persevering policy to give to his patrimonial State as independent a footing as he could devise. He had not, however, the perspicacity to look beyond the narrow view commanded by the Emperors and Kings of his time, but merely sought to establish State rights and supreme power. He even deprived all classes in Brandenburg and Prussia of their ancient right of voting supplies, and rudely put down the feeble efforts which the people made to retain some semblance of influence.

Organizes his army.

Having, however, relieved his subjects from war, his next step was to collect a regular revenue by introducing order and economy into the finances and expenditure of the State. By degrees, and by the wisdom and prudence of his conduct, he collected under his own command an army which, by discipline

and careful oversight, at length became the best trained and the most to be relied upon of any of that time. In 1648 he took part in the peace of Westphalia. He was indeed under some pressure on the part of France, and was obliged to yield to the Swedes Hither Pomerania and the shore of the Baltic around the mouths of the Oder; and although the Swedes and the Dutch did not entirely evacuate his territory till 1650, yet he had the satisfaction of settling the boundaries of all his States under the guarantee of the common law of Europe. 1648. —

When the Palsgrave Charles Gustavus succeeded to the crown of Sweden, in 1654, Frederick William thought himself called upon to take up arms in defence of his Suzerain, the King of Poland. But he resolved to act warily and with circumspection. He at first declined a proposal of the young King to unite with him against Russia; but when the Palsgrave had made himself master of the entire kingdom of Poland, Frederick William listened to a proposed accommodation to ally himself with the King of Sweden for the preservation of Prussia. As soon, however, as Frederick William perceived that Russia had entered the field against the Palsgrave, he began to waver in his attachment to one who had so many enemies, and he withdrew from his alliance; but he was fortunate enough to conclude with France at this period a treaty which guaranteed to him the quiet possession of his Rhenish Provinces.

Concludes a treaty with France.

By the truce of Königsberg, which was soon after converted into an offensive alliance with Sweden, he carried an army to act with that people at the confluence of the Vistula and the Bug against Poland; and here he commanded for the first time in the field. When the Polish army encountered them near Warsaw, the Elector attacked the Polish cavalry with his Brandenburg horse, and entirely routed and dispersed them. The Polish infantry, thus abandoned, also fled, leaving their cannon behind; and the capital surrendered the

Defeats the Poles, the Tartars, and the Swedes.

1656. next day. Here, however, Frederick William received advices that a body of Tartars were ravaging his territory in Prussia, which induced him to cross the frontier with all his cavalry, and he shortly cleared the country, and defeated the enemy at Philippova in July of the same year (1656). The result of these successes was the treaty of Labiau, by which the Elector was emancipated for the time to come from all vassalage to the King of Poland for the fief of Prussia. In 1658 he made an alliance with Denmark and Holland against the Swedes, and took the field against them, and compelled them to retire behind the Eïder and from the Island of Aland. In 1659 the Elector took Frederiedson, but failed in his attack on the Island of Fühnen: and Wrangel surprised 1200 Brandenburgers in the Island of Usedom, and threw a reinforcement of 1600 men into Stettin. The Elector, however, concentrated his troops, and pursued the Swedish general when he returned into Pomerania. He captured Warnemunde and Tripsee, and finished the campaign with the taking of Denin. Most of the towns captured were not, it is true, capable of making twenty-four hours' resistance to our modern engineering skill; but nevertheless the treaty of Braunberg, which closed the war, restored the greater part of Swedish Pomerania to Frederick William, and he was recognized as Sovereign Duke of Prussia at the peace of Oliva in 1660, in recompense of these conquests, and released from all vassalage for it.

Harbours the exiled Huguenots.

He seized the interval of peace to improve his territories draining the bogs, cutting canals, and encouraging industry and commerce in every way. He welcomed to Brandenburg some 20,000 of the poor Protestants whom France ejected from her bosom by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes; and by continued energy, activity, and vigilance, and by an ever ready judgment on the events taking place around him, he availed himself of the proper moment either to evince audacity in obtaining fresh acquisitions or

prudence in consolidating what he had acquired; so that he began to figure in the world, and the kings of the earth courted his alliance as a sagacious politician. 1671. —

In 1671 the influence of Frederick William began to be sensibly felt in the disputes between France and the Empire consequent upon the resolve of Louis XIV. to invade Holland in spite of the hostility of the Empire. Montecuculi and Turenne had at this period (1673) exhausted their military genius upon the banks of the Rhine. The Elector, however, apprehensive of the safety of the Duchy of Cleves, and indignant at the conduct of the Emperor and Princes of the Empire, who thwarted him in his endeavours to protect his territory, concluded a peace with France at Vossem in 1673. But when Louis XIV. ravaged the Palatinate, Frederick William abandoned the French alliance, and made a treaty with the Emperor, Spain, and Holland. Accordingly, in 1675, the Swedes, under the celebrated Wrangel, now old and infirm, were commanded to threaten the Electorate; and this quickly brought back Frederick William, by the most flying marches, from the Rhine to his capital. The Elector's was comparatively a weak army when contrasted with that of Sweden, under the nominal command of Wrangel, then long accustomed to success; and Frederick William found many of the strong places in Brandenburg reduced before he could arrive to the relief of his distressed subjects. However, the presence of the Sovereign and the fidelity of his people, aided by the active energy of the Elector, soon regained the ascendancy, and he resolved to confound and chastise the insolence of his enemy. Having quitted Franconia he reached Magdeburg on the 10th June, and crossed the Elbe the same night, and at the head of his cavalry he reached Rathenau the night following. General Dorfling led the advance; and hearing that the garrison of the town, under Wangelin the Governor, were indulging in a debauch, and knowing the advantage of

Joins the Emperor, Spain, and Holland, against France, and takes Rathenau, June 11, 1673.

1673. prompt action under such a circumstance, he collected some boats on the banks of the Harel, and crossing that river (although his force was entirely horse), succeeded in getting the gates forced and entering the town while all the officers within were sleeping themselves sober. They awoke only to find themselves prisoners of war to a prince whom they thought far away in Rhineland. The Elector, however, would not halt, but pushed on with his cavalry to Nauen. Here he had hoped to cut off the two principal bodies of Swedes, who occupied Havelburg and Brandenburg; but they had been warned of his approach, and, as he heard, were on their march to their rendezvous at the bridge of Fehrbellin. Frederick William was unable to come up with them until, on the 18th, he reached that post, and found the Swedish troops collected and formed up in a strong camp between Hakelberg and Tornow, having the bridge of Fehrbellin under their right flank, while their left leaned against a gentle rising ground that commanded the marshy bank of the little river Rein. The enemy's force was 7000 infantry, 800 dragoons, and 10 guns, advantageously posted; and the Elector had only 5000 weary horsemen to oppose them, for his infantry was still in the rear.

Encounters the Swedes under Wrangel.

The Swedish army was nominally under the command of the celebrated Karl Gustaf Wrangel; but he was unable from his infirmities to mount a horse, and was carried hither and thither in a litter; so that he was utterly unequal to the direction of the troops. Under such circumstances of their leader, it was no great discredit to them that they should have been surprised, for the sight of the Prussians in their front was scarcely believed; indeed they thought Frederick William was far off, still near the banks of the Rhine. The Elector's infantry, counting 11,000 men, was in fact not come up, but was many miles in the rear. Time was, however, so precious, that he resolved upon

an immediate attack with his cavalry alone. It is recorded that, on this occasion, when the Great Elector found himself in presence of the foe, and under the necessity of adopting this resolution, standing in the presence of his horsemen, he took a pistol from the holster of his saddle, and fired it in the air, exclaiming, as he turned his eyes up to heaven, "'Tis to Thy glory, Great God, that I discharge my arms. Defend my cause, for Thou knowest it to be just. Punish my enemies, for Thou knowest them to be unrelenting." Then throwing away the discharged weapon, and drawing his sword, he turned to his soldiers, and said, "Comrades! I desire no other defence, nor any other weapon, but the protection of God, your courage, and my sword. Follow me, therefore, my friends: do as I do, and be assured of victory." 1673. —

Routs the Swedes near Fehrbellin.

The Prince of Hesse Homberg was directed to take 1600 horse to reconnoitre the enemy, but not to engage. However the Prince did not exactly obey orders, and somewhat hastened the crisis. Nevertheless the circumstances of the case were so urgent, that the Elector determined to attack. The Swedes opened their guns upon the advance of the Brandenburg cavalry; but Frederick William's eye discerned a sandy eminence unoccupied by the Swedes, which he at once secured, and there placed his thirteen guns, under the fire of which he took up a position at the head of his horse, and fell upon the enemy's right wing, which was occupied by the cavalry regiment of Ostrogothia. He succeeded in routing those, who fell back and disordered the infantry formation, that broke and fled in precipitation to the bridge, which broke down under them. The Swedish infantry, seeing the necessity of retreat, fell back with their accustomed discipline, in good order; but they lost 3000 men in action, with eight of their guns, and many standards. The want of infantry prevented Frederick William from forcing the possession of Fehrbellin; so that the Swedes were enabled to repair the bridge,

1673. and thus escaped total annihilation. The little town was hurriedly protected by abattis and trenches and other means of barricade, which effectually prevented an immediate attack with cavalry. As soon, however, as the Brandenburg infantry, 11,000 in number, came up, General Dorflinger was directed to force Fehrbellin the next morning; but the Swedes at once crossed the bridge, and burnt it, and had already made good their retreat before the passage of the little river Rein could be accomplished. The Brandenburgers at length got into pursuit, and captured and plundered much baggage; but the Swedes, reduced to 4000 men, made the best of their way by Wittstock to Mecklenburg[1].

1675-6. The Elector takes Stettin, 14th Dec.

The Elector now obtained reinforcements both Imperialist and Danish, and resolved to follow the Swedes into Pomerania; and he made himself master of the principal passages of the river Peene, and of the town of Wolgast. He also obtained a footing in the Isle of Wollin, from which in the ensuing winter an attempt was made by the Swedes in garrison at Stralsund under Mandefelt to dislodge Dorflinger. As soon as the season of 1677 became favourable for military operations, Frederick William quitted Berlin, and led his army towards Stettin, and on the 6th June opened his trenches against it. This siege continued for six months, because the Electoral troops were quite inexperienced in the attack of places, and were destitute as well of proper material as of engineers. It was not, therefore, until the 14th December that they obtained possession of Stettin.

Takes Stralzund.

The next phase of the war was that the Dutch made a separate peace with France; and the Elector, thus abandoned, was called upon by Louis XIV. to

[1] This cavalry affair has been dignified by universal History as a great battle. It had all the merit of dashing enterprise, a judicious plan, and a resolute execution; but it was the political influences which followed it that justified its renown.

1677. —

restore all his conquests to Sweden and to pay the expenses of the war. These humiliating proposals were of course rejected with proper spirit, and the contest continued accordingly with the Swedish army. Frederick William opened the campaign in Pomerania, where he got possession of Wolgast, Anclam, and some other towns. But, unfortunately for him, the Isle of Rugen was surprised, and 1200 Danes and Brandenburgers were made prisoners in it. With the assistance, however, of a reinforcement of 4000 Lunenbergers, the Elector made himself master of Fehrschantz, and obtained a footing in the Isle of Bornholm. He next had the audacity to open his guns on Stralzund, which important place opened her gates to him after two days' bombardment; when, after taking Greifswalde, he closed the year's campaign.

1679. East Prussia invaded by the Swedes under Horn.

Fortune is for ever variable and inconstant, and Frederick William had scarcely got back to his palace when she prepared for him a fresh reverse. The Swedes had determined upon making a new diversion against him in East Prussia, which province was entered by 6000 Swedes under General Horn (not the celebrated Gustavus Horn of "The Thirty Years' War," but an officer of the same name). A detachment of 3000 Brandenburgers under General Gortz was forthwith despatched to Königsberg, there to await the Elector's arrival with such other troops as he could collect at the rallying-place. The Swedes, however, proceeded on their way, burnt the suburb of Memel, and made themselves masters of Tilsit and Innersburg. On the 11th of January, 1679, Frederick William, attended by his Electress, and with an army of 9000 men, quitted his capital for a winter campaign, and crossed the Vistula.

The Swedes retreat towards Courland, 19th Jan.

Horn, taken aback at this prompt advance, thought proper to retire before him; and the Elector placed his army upon sledges to cross the Frisch-Haff. A march in this new and extraordinary manner across a frozen gulf, which two months previously had been crowded

1679 — with shipping, somewhat surprised the enemy; and a startling effect was produced by the sight of a most solemn and stately procession combined with a military and imposing calvacade. The Electoral carriages occupied the centre of the imposing column, in the midst of the infantry, and flanked right and left by cavalry; while a large park of artillery, under a distinct convoy, clung to the shore. In order to head the Swedes, who constantly retreated, Trefenfeldt, with 5000 horse, was hurried forward from Labiau; so that when the army reached Tilsit on the 19th, the first tidings announced that two of the enemy's regiments had been overtaken near Splitten, and that 700 waggons full of baggage, with some standards, had been captured. Gortz therefore pushed on with the advanced guard; and the Swedes, intimidated, abandoned Tilsit, and retreated towards Courland.

The Elector makes peace with France.

This campaign had been planned by Frederick William with much judgment and prudence, which substantially advanced his military renown. It showed the great extent of the Elector's genius in war. Neither the rigour of the season nor the extent of a march so far as Livonia could abate his ardour or diminish his resolution. It was, however, a most unequal contest for Brandenburg to persevere in maintaining, with no other ally than Denmark. Nevertheless no sooner had Frederick William returned to Berlin, than he heard that 30,000 Frenchmen had entered his Duchy of Cleves, and that his army under General Spaen was shut up in the Principality of Minden by Maréchal de Crequi. The brightest valour must submit to overpowering numbers, and the Elector could only hope to obtain an accommodation upon the best terms he could. He therefore despatched a negotiator to St. Germains, who succeeded in making himself heard; and a peace was concluded there in 1679, by which the Great Elector was obliged to yield up his conquests to Sweden, only receiving out of the conquered province

a corner of some twenty miles in extent, and a sum of 300,000 thalers in compensation for the injuries inflicted upon his territory by the army of De Crequi. 1679. —

These events closed the military career of Frederick William. The remainder of his reign was less stormy, but not less really glorious. His active genius manifested itself to the very end of his life with as much brilliancy as at its commencement; for he evinced at the head of his Cabinet as strong a claim to eminence as a statesman as he had done at the head of his army as a warrior. He availed himself to the last of every opportunity of re-establishing the prosperity of his people; and it was the object of his constant solicitude to raise every province under his rule from the prostration to which long-continued war had previously reduced his subjects, notwithstanding all he had done to recover the towns and villages from the desolation in which he had originally found them.

The Elector improves the condition of his subjects.

The Elector did not enjoy undisturbed repose in his foreign relations. In 1680 he was under the necessity of sending a small fleet of nine vessels to the Spanish coast, to support a claim that he had against the Catholic King; and he laid hands upon a Spanish man-of-war that happened to be in the port of Königsberg; but this step led to nothing. His abilities were, nevertheless, so much admitted, that he was about this time called upon to act as mediator between the Courts of Denmark and Sweden. Indeed his reputation for superior wisdom and sagacity had extended even to the East of Europe, insomuch that Murad Girai courted his friendship, and sent a Tartar embassy to Berlin. But the plenipotentiary who presented himself had lost his nose and his ears; and, for want of a decent covering, the Master of the Ceremonies could not pronounce him to be presentable until he had been breeched at the expense of the Court. 1680.

Mediates between the Courts of Denmark and Sweden: receives a Tartar embassy.

In 1681, on the death of the Administrator, Frederick William obtained possession of Magde- 1685.

1686. burg; and in 1686 and 1687 he received various territories on one claim or another under treaties with Austria, Sweden, and other powers. In 1685 he had already despatched 2000 men to the succour of John Sobieski when attacked by the Turks. The campaign was opened in Croatia, when 5000 Turks were defeated between Vihitz and Novi; the Imperialists, crossing the river at Passarowitz, defeated an Ottoman army at Patouchin and drove them to Nissa, where they were defeated again on the 24th September. In 1686 the Elector sent an army of 8000 men, under the command of General Schonig, as an auxiliary force in aid of the Empire: for which service he received an Imperial grant as an indemnity.

— Sends aid to Sobieski.

1688. Death of the Elector, April.

Frederick William had been for many years troubled with gout; and this distemper, increasing in virulence, turned to a dropsy, which led to his death. Two days before he died he convened his council, presided over by the Electoral Prince, and himself assisted at the session. With perfect clearness and self-possession, and with his accustomed courtesy, he thanked his councillors for their fidelity to himself, and bespoke the continuance of it for his son, to whom he explained in a short analysis the condition of affairs both domestic and foreign, and especially enjoined him to assist the Prince of Orange by every aid in his power in the expedition he was then meditating to England.

There had been a cordial friendship between the Elector and the Stadtholder all through their career; so that when, by the tragical death of the De Witts, William attained his power, Frederick William writes to the States to the following effect: "That since he heard that His Highness was restored to the dignities of his ancestors, he did not doubt but Heaven would prosper a resolution so advantageous to the public, especially since he knew the Prince inherited the virtues of his illustrious predecessors; protesting, besides, that he found himself compelled upon his elevation, to

contribute all that lay in his power to assist His Highness to recover and preserve what his ancestors had acquired at the expense of their own blood, with so much reputation to themselves." 1688. —

Beneficence of his consort.

Frederick William died in April, 1688. He had been twice married;—first to Louisa Henrietta of Nassau,. daughter of William II., Prince of Orange[2]; and secondly to Dorothea, Dowager Duchess of Zell, by whom he left behind him thirteen children, of whom the eldest son became the first King of Prussia. One of his daughters was the wife of the Margrave Christian of Brandenburg Bareith, who is famous for having established, under her own supervision, after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, a French colony at Erlangen, where she resided in a mansion which she and her husband built—quite a handsome palace; and she made the town itself the prettiest and most prosperous in Germany. By the colonists whom she introduced she established all sorts of manufactures; and the French settlers, in gratitude for their reception, gave the town the name of Christian Erlangen, in honour of their benefactor.

The Great Elector was rather disposed to emulate "Le Grand Monarque" as well in matters of peace as of war, although he could have had no particular reason to admire or to imitate him. However, he aped his love for magnificent constructions in his capital, and caused an equestrian statue of himself to be placed upon the bridge at Berlin, in imitation of that of Henri IV. upon the Pont Neuf at Paris. This was modelled by an artist of the name of Jacobi, who spent years of constant application upon the work. It differs in no remarkable respect from the general character of such monuments. The Sovereign is represented of heroic size, and in Roman costume, upon a pedestal of white

[2] This Princess was an amiable and most accomplished person, and is remembered in her own land as the author of the well-known hymn, "Jesus mein Zuversicht."

1688. marble, having steps of stairs in bronze at the four angles. Neither the Roman habiliments nor the attendant slaves convey the remotest allusion to the undisputed claims of the Great Elector to be represented in his capital city.

Character of the Elector.

All Europe in his own time conceded to him the surname of Great; and the consenting voice of succeeding times has confirmed the award.

It is related that Frederick the Great ordered the bones of the Great Elector to be removed to his own new royal vault, and himself witnessed the proceeding. He ordered the coffin to be opened, and the body was found to be perfect. For some time the monarch stedfastly contemplated the features of his progenitor, of whom he was really proud. Then laying his hand upon the hand of the corpse, he said to his attendants, "Messieurs, celui-ci fut vraiment grand: il avait fait de grandes choses."

His personal character and appearance.

The Great Elector was endowed by nature with all the qualifications requisite to form a useful man; and Providence furnished him with the proper occasions of displaying them. He gave instances of prudent self-command at an age in which froward and fiery youth gives the rein to licentiousness. Incapable of fear, he never exerted his heroic valour in the pursuit of any ignoble design, or with any unworthy motive, but invariably exerted it in defence of his territories against aggression, or in the interest of his allies. He had a warm heart, regulated by a clear understanding, that made him an able and distinguished politician. He was a lover of virtue, humanity, and industry,—the best qualities for a Sovereign, and of signal efficacy in persons in exalted station through the influence of their example. And if, as has been stated, he was inclined to admire and rival Louis XIV. in most things, yet he chose rather to be surrounded by his wife and children than to be degraded and disgraced by the *entourage* of a mistress and of an illegitimate offspring. The fiery temper of Frederick William rendered him subject to transports

of choler, especially in the excitement of the battle-field. But if in his domestic circle he at any time gave way to passion, he immediately checked its further progress; and his generous heart made ample amends for the mistakes into which he had been hurried by the natural impetuosity of his temper. 1688.

Frederick William was of a thick-set, stalwart figure, but his physiognomy was marked by sharp, bright eyes and a high Roman nose; thus adding to the list of renowned warriors who were distinguished by those features of the eagle. But he was a man of small stature, which detracted greatly from the dignity of his deportment and appearance. It was to the quiet progress of the many ameliorations which he introduced into the government of his dominions, rather than to the acknowledged superiority of his military genius and ability, that he was indebted for the cognomen of "The Great Elector:" but it is a distinction which his Electoral Highness well deserved; and it is shared by no other Kaiser, King, or Elector, nor by any single Hoheit or Durchlaught in the now absolutely extinct "Holy Roman Empire." The term of greatness nowhere aspired higher among these subordinate potentates than that of a great shot or a great hunter.

Frederick William the great Elector, Frederick the great King, and (to judge from present probabilities) William the great Emperor, are all of the princely race of Hohenzollern, and all of the Ducal family of Brandenburg; while of the thousand and one Princes of Germany the Prussian Kings have most justly earned the pre-eminence of ruling over the mighty German fatherland; for they alone have governed consistently, in a spirit of wise and prudent regard for the material advancement of their people, as well in intelligence as in honour.[3]

[3] Militair-Conversations-Lexikon; Theatrum Europæum; Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la Maison de Brandeburg; Carlyle's Frederick II.; Biographies passim; Das Leben Friedrich Wilhem's von Horn; Leben und Thaten, von Geyler.

JOHN SOBIESKI, KING OF POLAND.

AN IMPERIAL GENERAL.

Born 1629. Died 1696.

1629. — His birth, parentage, and early education.

THIS celebrated warrior was the son of James Sobieski, Castellan of Cracow, and was born in the Castle of Olesco, in Gallicia, in the year 1629. He received his earliest education at the school of Cracow, whence he was transferred to the Military School of Paris, and received his first sword in the French regiment of the Grey Musketeers. But he afterwards obtained leave to travel, and made a tour, with his elder brother Márk Sobieski, through Europe, which extended over several years They had, however, again returned home in 1648, when they are found sharing in the wars of their country with the Swedes and Cossacks, in which the elder brother was in the very first campaign taken prisoner and put to death, whereupon John succeeded as the head of the family. He married soon after this a

Frenchwoman, Mary Casimir de la Grange, who was a maid of honour to Maria da Gonzagna, King Casimir's Queen, and a daughter of the Marquis d'Arqua. Our hero had availed himself of the wars to earn military distinction in the field, so that in 1665 he is already spoken of as an able leader of troops, as well as a man of political importance and independence, all which elevated his condition, so that we find him styled in 1667 by the dignities of Crown Grand Marshal and Hetman under King John Casimir, in which character he vanquished the Tartars, and rendered the Cossacks of the Ukraine submissive to the Polish Crown, on which he received the higher appointment of Waiwode or Palatine of Cracovia. All these regions have been so variously parcelled out in a modern map of the once famous kingdom of Poland, as to render its history no longer a matter of much interest to ordinary readers. But in the troubles which had begun thus early to assail the entirety of unhappy Poland, John Casimir was necessitated to resign his crown in the year 1668. The powers of Europe were always on the watch to turn the elective sovereignty of Poland to their own account, whenever such vacancies occurred; and on this occasion France put the Prince de Condé in nomination for the crown, and John Sobieski appears to have given the Prince his vote: but the national party elected Michael Koribut Wiecnowicski—a weak, bad choice; though any native was to be preferred to such an outsider as Condé for a Sovereign. Disturbances were, however, chronic in unhappy Poland. The Cossacks invaded it, and Sobieski was again summoned to the field of battle; but he soon restored the country to tranquillity: although his success caused him to be regarded as a dangerous subject by a King whose weakness had already made himself to be despised. The eyes of his countrymen therefore turned to John Sobieski as their ultimate resource.

1667. — Serves under Casimir, and defeats the Tartars.

In 1672 the Sultan Mahomet IV., with his Grand 1672.

1672. — Defeats the Turks, and denounces their proposals for a peace.

Vizier Coprogli, invaded Poland at the head of 150,000 men, and King Michael took refuge for safety, with all the principal nobles, in an intrenched camp. Sobieski went out to meet the enemy, and gained such successes over him, that his soldiers, disgusted at the inaction of their King, endeavoured to induce Sobieski to lead them against him. But he replied with equal honour and policy, "I am proud of your attachment; but I cannot turn against our Sovereign: our first duty is to save our country from the foe." Sobieski advanced against the Turks, and overthrew them in the plain of Nimiron, driving them successively across the Dniester, the Stry, and the Schewitz, even to the foot of the Carpathians. The Turks, however, succeeded in getting possession of the fortress of Kaminick or Camentz Pololskoy, situated on a rock above the Smotrista, a tributary of the Dniester, which induced King Michael to obtain terms from the Sultan at Bondchoz, which ceded to the Turk a larger territory, and obliged him to the payment of a heavy tribute. On this Sobieski denounced the treaty, in his place in the Diet, with tears in his eyes, and demanded that it should not be accepted by the kingdom. "The Turks are too powerful," exclaimed one of the Senators: "we dare not." "What," said Sobieski, "have we not sabres and courage? We had better die with glory than live with ignominy." He persuaded the meeting to adopt his views; the peace was declared null, and the war was renewed.

1673. Again defeats the Sultan in Moldavia, Nov. 10th.

Sobieski now took the field (1673) at the head of 50,000 followers, and marched against the Turks, who had intrenched themselves under the cannon of Kherson, a strong town in Moldavia, upon the Dniester. The camp was boldly attacked on the 10th November, when 20,000 of the Turks were slain, and all their baggage, including 25,000 loads of provisions, were taken: after which Sobieski captured the fortress, which had been previously deemed impregnable. It so happened that King

Michael died at Warsaw on the very day of Sobieski's victory, and the throne of Poland had again to be filled by a popular election. The matter was opened in due form before the assembled Diet, and the question was propounded, "Who shall be our King?" "Who should be King," exclaimed Jablonsky, "but he who has best defended us?" On which the entire hall burst into the unanimous cry, "Sobieski for ever! Let him reign over us." 1673. —

Although elected by the title of John III., Sobieski was unwilling to wait to be crowned until he had further discomfited the enemy. He accordingly joined his army again, and made the greatest exertions to recover Kaminick; but he failed in this object. He however drove the Turks to take refuge under its guns, and, leaving them, returned to Cracow to be crowned with his Queen, the 2nd February, 1676. He then again returned to the field, but was obliged to shut himself in Lemberg on the 24th August. Here he was invested by the Turkish army; but, availing himself of a heavy snow storm which drove full in the faces of the Turks, he made a sortie, issuing from the town with the cry of "Christ for ever," and completely routed the besiegers, after a confinement of not more than thirty days. He again assembled his forces in the camp at Zuranow, where, with only 10,000 men, he was assailed by a large body under the leadership of the Pacha of Damascus, who had obtained the name of "Shaitan," or "the Devil," and again shut him up. He remained invested from September till October, but could not tire out his enemy. Sobieski now perceived that he had no chance of success, but that his only hope was in some able ally, and this he had the good fortune to find in the Khan of Tartary, by whose mediation he obtained a truce on the 14th October, 1676, and an honourable peace was signed in his camp on the 16th.

Is elected King of Poland. Defeats the Turks at Lemberg, 1676, and concludes a treaty with them 16th October.

While John Sobieski thus at length obtained repose, other influences, in no degree affecting his position, 1683.

1683. — The Turks, under Kara Mustafa, lay siege to Vienna.

were working out for him, without his participation, that great and mighty event which has given an undying glory to his name. The despotic rule of the Emperor of Germany had created such disgust in his Christian subjects of Hungary, that in utter despair they solicited aid from the Turk against their Imperial oppressor; and even the Protestants, irritated by the attempts of the Emperor to elude the fulfilment of his promises in regard to their religion, took part against him. The King of France incessantly incited the Sultan, by means of his embassy at Constantinople, to fall upon the rear of the Empire, and at length succeeded in bringing this object about in 1683; but it was preceded by a manifesto from the Insurgent Chief Tekeli, offering the protection of the Sultan to their religion, property, and privileges. While 240,000 men under Kara Mustafa, the Grand Vizier, invaded Hungary, an Imperial army under Duke Charles of Lorraine vainly attempted to stem the invasion. Such was the apathy of the Emperor's Government, and such the tardiness of German succour, that scarcely 40,000 men could be collected when the campaign opened on the 7th May. The terror of such a formidable force heralded the Turkish van, and the retreat of the Germans became a disorderly flight. The Turks reached the gates of Vienna unopposed on the 14th July. The Emperor Leopold fled. Rödiger Count Von Stahremberg, the intrepid and skilful governor, held the capital, which he placed in a posture of defence by the destruction of a suburb, and a hasty repair of the works; so that for two months, with a garrison of 10,000 men, he successfully resisted the furious attacks of the besiegers, by whom the whole surrounding country was ravaged, and converted into an absolute desert, while the inhabitants of the land were dragged into captivity; 60,000 of the inhabitants of the city had fled at the first appearance of the Infidel, who completed the investment in a few days.

The Turkish miners blew up the strongest part of the outward defences, and the city was surrounded with ruins and heaps of rubbish. Still Count Stahremberg, unshaken by the wild cries, the furious attacks, and immense numbers of the enemy, gallantly defended the Imperial city, and trained the citizens and students to act in concert with the garrison, and, though severely wounded, the Governor was carried daily round to cheer the citizens and to give his orders. But the strength of the garrison daily diminished—the spirits of the defenders were worn out by incessant duty, and it became even requisite to punish the drowsy sentinels with death, lest the dreaded foe should get inside. Famine soon began to add accumulating horrors, and the besieged were driven to the last extremity for want of provisions, when lo! during the night of the 11th July, a girandole of rockets discharged from the tower of St. Stephen's Cathedral was answered by a signal of three cannons, that spoke the comforting assurance that efficient aid was close at hand. John Sobieski, the chivalresque King of Poland, had brought up his auxiliary force of 18,000 men from the North, and had been met on his march by Charles Duke of Lorraine with 11,000 Germans, and by the Electors of Bavaria and Saxony with their contingents, and these were already ascending the ridge of the Calemberg, which overlooks the Imperial capital, combining a force of 70,000 Christian men. The Confederated German Princes resolved on the overthrow of the Mussulman, but agreed to cede to the King of Poland the chief command of these troops of many races. It had required all the prestige of Sobieski's name, and that force of character which attaches to all great commanders, to lead up such a force by a fatiguing march across mountains, over which they could only bring up their artillery by manual labour; and even now they had only succeeded in bringing up twenty-eight pieces to oppose the 300 cannon of the enemy. From the top of the

1683.

Sobieski marches to the relief of Vienna.

1683. Calemberg the King of Poland could see the plain of the Danube and all its many islands covered with Turkish pavilions, and every space occupied by horses, camels, buffaloes, and swarms of Tartars. But his acute and practised eye detected the errors of the Turkish general. "This man," said he, "is badly encamped. He can know nothing of war in practice; and we shall certainly beat him. Which of you at the head of such an army would have suffered his enemy to throw that bridge" (which Prince Charles had been suffered to hold at Tulu over the Danube) "within five leagues of his camp?"

The signal from St. Stephen's was not unregarded by the Turks, who from good information knew the extent of the coming deliverance, but, in their accustomed presumption and infatuation, despised its numerical inferiority. Accordingly on the 7th Kara Mustafa mustered all his troops, in order to test the losses he had already sustained in the siege; and, from a paper afterwards found in the Grand Vizier's tent, the loss in the trenches up to that day had attained the incredible amount of 48,344 men, amongst whom were 344 Pachas and leaders, and 10,000 Janissaries. Kara Mustafa, however, was not a man to yield to apprehended dangers, and accordingly on the 8th he had already ordered the miners to urge forward their work without intermission. The besieged, however, had the good fortune by their counter-mines to come across and to unload a most dangerous culvert, which had been stored with twenty-four tons of powder, the springing of which would have opened out such a gap in the defences, as must have led to the surrender of the city. But this happy incident did not avert the serious danger continually accruing to the besieged on every side, and on every side of the city the cannonading was incessant. Partial storms were of constant recurrence, which deranged the troops and obliged Stahremberg to redouble his exertions to keep alive the

defence. The liberators seemed as though they would never really arrive to save the city. On the 9th the Turks had destroyed a large portion of the Lobel-bastion; but the defenders repulsed an attempt to carry it by storm. On the 10th the enemy had greatly enlarged the breach of the Burg-bastion, but no attempt was made to storm it, and thus matters stood when relief arrived. 1683. —

Sobieski comes within sight of Vienna; joy of the citizens.

At last the Christian army was encamped in sight of the walls in all its grandeur; yet the works of the assailant in the trenches continued active, although no attempt at a storm was made. Kara Mustafa, despising the diminutive numbers of the allies, left it to the Tartar light cavalry to deal with them; while with his Janissaries and his artillery he gave his undivided attention to the trenches, in momentary expectation of seeing the white flag for a capitulation hung out. His orders had been given to keep up as heavy a fire as could be upon the besieged, with a view to scare them unto submission. This was done with unexampled energy by the Pasha of Damascus, who then took the command of the siege; while the tower of St. Stephen's continued to evidence to the liberators by repeated signals that the alarm in the terrified city continued at its height. At five o'clock in the afternoon the Polish infantry, which had been retarded in the march, came up, and the entire force at once went into action. The two armies now met in the most dreadful conflict, and, as soon as it took an unfavourable turn for the enemy, the Janissaries fled out from the trenches, which were immediately filled by the Saxon and Austrian dragoons under Prince Louis of Bavaria. The Count Stahremberg now went forth to give the hand to his deliverers, amidst such a heap of ruins as may be imagined after sixty days of continued cannonading, and the explosion of more than fifty mines.

Rout of the Turks, 12th Sept.

Sobieski had exercised much military judgment in his advance to the relief of the besieged. He was

1683. sensible of the immense numerical superiority of the besiegers, but he was scarcely prepared for the foolhardy indifference evinced by Kara Mustafa at the approach of his better disciplined opponents. The Turks took no precautionary measure in the occupation of the heights; and by continuing to carry on the siege from the trenches in spite of the army in the field, as above related, the Mussulmen lost the momentum of their large body of men; so that when Sobieski pushed on with his accustomed daring at the head of an imposing force of cavalry, and came upon a troop of 20,000 Turkish horse, the superiority was inverted,—fear came upon them and shook them, while the indecision of their movements betrayed their formation, and Sobieski fell upon them, and routed them with signal success. A partial eclipse of the sun added to their terror, for they thought that the Poles must be in league with the powers of darkness to obtain such aid; so that Sobieski pushed on, and never drew bit in the pursuit till he had driven them back into the very camp of Kara Mustafa. The Polish King is said to have himself espied the Grand Vizier sitting at the entrance of his gorgeous pavilion, sipping his coffee, with his two sons beside him, as he galloped along; but it was told him that, notwithstanding the affected composure of the infidel, the order had gone forth from him for the murder of 30,000 Christian prisoners. Provoked by this appearance of indifference and unconcern on the part of Kara Mustafa, and enraged at the reported cruelty of an act of butchery, Sobieski commanded an immediate attack, and entered the camp with his entire army. The Ottomans, congregated in a confused mass, assembled round the tent of the Vizier, who did all that brute bravery could do to make an effective stand; but in vain, for what with the enthusiasm of the Christian soldiers on the one hand, and the contradictory orders that bewildered the Turks on the other, the latter knew not whom to

1683. —

obey, and wildly fled from the field. The Grand Vizier's tent, and an immense treasure, including all the Turkish artillery in the camp and in the trenches, fell into the hands of the King. Kara Mustafa succeeded in mounting a fleet dromedary, on which he made his escape to Constantinople, where he could not satisfy his master of the causes of failure, and, according to Oriental practice, was strangled by order of the Sultan Mahomet IV. It is said that the Grand Vizier had, early in the day, threatened the good bishop Kalonitsel, who had most zealously fulfilled his Christian duties in the siege, that his head should pay the forfeit of the earnest accomplishment of his pious actions; so that now, with savage irony, the head of Kara Mustafa was sent by order of the Sultan to the bishop. But the ecclesiastic, not deeming it a fitting relic for his chapel, sent it to the arsenal of Vienna, where it is said the relic may still be seen in a crystal shrine, adorned with silver plates.

Triumphal entry of Sobieski into Vienna, 13th Sept.: ingratitude of the Emperor Leopold: total defeat of the Turks.

On the following day—13th September—the Polish King entered Vienna on horseback in great state; crowds of the liberated inhabitants of the city clung around his horse, and kissed devoutly the very metal of his stirrup. Greatly touched by this act of devotion, Sobieski could not refrain from tears, remarking, "Never did a crown yield greater pleasure than this." His first object was to repair to the great Cathedral of St. Stephen, to return thanks for his success, which had been gained at no greater loss than 600 men. All Europe resounded with the praises of the conqueror who had delivered the capital of the Holy Roman Empire from the sword of the Infidel, and from all the calamities that had been dreaded from an irruption of the Mussulman upon Christian Europe. But there was one absentee from this triumphant ceremonial who should have been the foremost to express his thankfulness for preservation from greatly dreaded dangers. The Emperor Leopold had not yet made his

1683. appearance; he required time to consider in what manner it became his Imperial dignity to receive an elected King in the capital of the Cæsars. He felt that he stood in the sight of his subjects as an inferior in the presence of Sobieski—the real victor and hero—and he could not make up his mind even to offer to the Polish King the right hand of fellowship. At length he appeared at the rencontre. The warm-hearted Sobieski spurred his horse to a gallop, and touched his hat, which civility was returned at the same moment, and both Sovereigns spoke in Latin. "Brother," said the Polish King, "I am glad to have done you some small service." But Leopold, who was also on horseback, after forcing himself to a few words of greeting to his deliverer, remained stiffly seated in his saddle; nor would he lay aside his constrained deportment when the son of Sobieski, attended by many Polish nobles, kissed his hand. This littleness of mind chilled the soldiers; and when the delivering army found that they were altogether forgotten, and at the same time left so ill provided for with common necessaries and comforts, they would have gone back to their own country in disgust, had not Sobieski declared that if they deserted him to a single man he would himself remain as long as a single Turk continued on the soil of Germany. He therefore carried away his army forthwith in pursuit of the Vizier, after staying only two days in Vienna. He came up with him at Paranay in Hungary, and again at Strigonia, where, on the 6th October, after exposing himself to great personal danger, he succeeded* in obtaining another great victory over the Turks, and cleared the Empire of the Infidel. He now returned to his kingdom, and arrived at Cracow on the 24th December. Among the trophies of his victories that he brought with him was the great standard of Mahomet, which the conqueror sent to the Pope with these words, "I came, I saw: God hath conquered."

1695. — Discomforts of the closing years of Sobieski's life.

This heroic warrior had not secured peace of mind with his great glory. The latter years of his reign were darkened by public and private misfortunes. He endeavoured in vain to recover from the Turks the fortress of Kaminik, but was in every attempt foiled by Soliman Pacha, and he only obtained it, after many failures, by the terms of a treaty with Mahomet IV. After this, Sobieski found enemies both at home and abroad, who, having utterly forgotten his services, endeavoured as much as they could to deprive his family of the succession to the throne. His son James Louis, born in 1667, accompanied his father to the field in many campaigns, and was present with him at the Calemberg. But he was thwarted in his hopes of the crown of John Sobieski by the accession of Augustus of Saxony; and, though aided subsequently by the exertions of Charles XII. of Sweden, he again failed, and James Louis died in a convent in 1734.

1696. His death, 10th July. Debasement of the national morals.

An attack of apoplexy, which terminated in dropsy, put a period to all Sobieski's earthly hopes on the 10th July, 1696. The Poles to this day venerate his memory; and when Kosciusko endeavoured to restore the kingdom, they entrusted the sword of Sobieski to his keeping. But the whole nation had become so debased through the intrigues of Europe for the Polish crown, that the most shameful and prodigal corruption pervaded the nobles, who yielded the dignity to the highest bidder, until within a century from this date the kingdom had ceased to exist.

This consummation had been foreseen by John Sobieski. At the close of the stormy Diet of 1688 he had addressed the assembly of the kingdom in this sad and almost prophetic strain:—" Posterity will one day see with surprise, that, after having been elevated to much prosperity, our country will fall into the gulf of ruin,—fall, alas! for ever. For myself, I have laboured to gain her renown; but I am powerless to save her. I can do no more

1696. than leave the future of my beloved fatherland—not to destiny, for I am a Christian,—but to God High and Mighty. You know that I do not seek after oracles,—I place no reliance upon dreams,—but I see in faith that the decrees of Providence cannot fail of accomplishment. Wherever I see crime attempted with impunity,—where strange gods follow under the very eye of the true One,—there the vengeance of the Most High has already begun His work."

Sobieski's personal appearance, habits, and character: struggle for the succession.

In person, John Sobieski was tall and rather corpulent. He was a well-spoken Prince, and had most of the good qualities requisite for a gentleman. He was an accomplished scholar, and a steady patron of learning [1]. But he was not free from the main defect of his race and country. He loved intrigue, and had an ardent thirst for the acquisition of money, with uncommon parsimony in spending it. With this avaricious tendency, he was considered to be too much under the influence of his wife. Tindal says he outlived his fame, and died at last under general contempt. For, with unmitigated uxoriousness, he was continually going backwards and forwards to the Court of France, in the meanest and most abject subserviency, to advance his queen's negotiations. His government was so feeble and disjointed at home, that all his Diets broke up upon preliminaries before they could, according to their forms, enter upon business. The King was set on amassing wealth, which he justified to himself as necessary to give his son an interest in the election that was to take place on his death; and, indeed, when that event occurred, a great party did appear for Prince James Louis, and the Emperor did all he could to support him. But, while the election was wavering in the balance, the Elector of Saxony advanced an army to

[1] A history under the name of Sobieski, entitled "Commentarius Belli Chotinensis," Dantzig, was from the pen of his father.

the frontiers of Poland, shamelessly changed his religion, although descended from the first Protestant Prince, and distributed his money so freely, that he carried the election in spite of the King of France and the Sobieski. Queen Mary Casimira quitted Poland after the death of her heroic husband, and made Rome her residence in 1698; but she afterwards removed to Blois, in France, where she died in 1716. Her eldest granddaughter, Maria Clementina, married the first Pretender[2], and that race expired with Charles Edward; but Sobieski's second daughter married the Elector Maximilian of Bavaria, which has carried the blood of the hero into most of the sovereign houses of Europe. The direct line of descent is, however, extinct[3]. 1696.

[2] Lord Stanhope relates this story of the marriage:—"The lady was on her way to join her betrothed husband in Italy, when she was arrested, and detained at Innspruck, in the Imperial territories,—a favour of the Emperor to the English Government, unworthy of them to solicit, and base in him to grant." The Princess obtained her release by the boldness and address of her English attendants, who contrived to get a young woman of her size and stature into her bed to feign sickness, while the bride got away in the girl's clothes, in a dark, snowy night, though not without the loss of one of her shoes in the slush. By her perseverance, however, and travelling three days and nights without rest, she reached the Pope's dominions, and was married to the Chevalier de St. George, at Monte Fiasconi, in 1719. She was a woman of high spirit and blameless character, and the mother of the second Pretender and of Cardinal York; but she preferred to the society of the pseudo-King the Convent of St. Cecilia at Rome, where she died in 1725.

[3] Militair Conversations Lexikon; Biographie Universelle; Histories of Poland; Coxe's House of Austria.

FIELD MARSHAL VON SCHOMBERG.

GERMAN GENERAL.

Born 1615. Killed 1690.

His ancestry. ARMAND FRIEDRICH VON SCHOMBERG was descended from the princely house of Cleves, of which he bore the arms, through a very ancient and noble family of the Rhine Palatinate. Although born a German, and mixed up in many German wars, it was his fate to serve in almost every army in Europe, excepting a native force. We meet with him in English, Swedish, French, Portuguese, and Dutch annals. He had British blood in his veins, and he married a French woman. So that never did any personage exist, who was by nature more a citizen of the world than the subject of this memoir.

Birth, parentage, and education. One circumstance, which was invariably a telling one in the fortunes of many warriors of the seventeenth century, influenced his entire career;—he was

born a Protestant in a strictly Romanist country, which in that century was a circumstance that considerably affected the fortunes both of civil and military rewards. His father was Johann Meinhard, Count of Schomberg, Ober-Mareschal of the Palatinate, who had been employed to negotiate the marriage of the King of Bohemia with the English Princess, and who was killed at the battle of Prague. His mother was Anne, daughter of Edward[1] Lord Dudley of England. Our hero was born at Heidelberg in 1615[2], and lost his father by death very early. He received his earliest education in the Protestant Seminaries of Sedan in 1626, and Paris in 1630: he is also said to have received some instruction in England, and at the Mathematical School of Leyden. In truth he proved on all occasions that he had a cultivated mind, for it is said of him that "he wrote with the elegant simplicity of Cæsar."

1615.

Commencement of his military career.

Schomberg commenced his military career at about seventeen years of age in the Swedish army. This was during the height of The Thirty Years' War; and it is not a very surprising incident that such patrimony as he had in the Palatinate should have been confiscated by the orders of the Emperor. He was present at the unfortunate battle of Nordlingen in 1634; and he was with Duke Bernhard in his retreat on Mayence: he also served under Count Rantzau at the siege of Dôle, and at the subsequent surprise of Nordhausen, where he led the assault. He afterwards entered the army of Holland, and was favourably entertained by William II., Prince of Orange; but when that Stadtholder died in 1650, Schomberg, being by these circumstances under

[1] I am at a loss to discover who was this Edward Lord Dudley of England. He may have been one of the eight sons of Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, but was not a descendant of the favourite, where both father and son bore the name of Robert; nor could he be descended from Edward Sutton Lord Dudley, who died in 1643.

[2] There is great discrepancy between the dates of Schomberg's birth: some give 1608, and some 1615.

1658. the necessity of living by his sword, sought and obtained service from the King of France, where he was permitted to purchase the commission of Captain Lieutenant in the Scotch Gens d'armes. He served under Maréchal Turenne in the Royal army against Condé in 1653 and 1654; and, in the latter year, he obtained the rank of Lieutenant-General, and was entrusted successively with the government of Gravelines and Furnes; where we may read of our hero in the biography of Maréchal Turenne, how he influenced the celebrated Council of War at which the English General Morgan proposed to the French Maréchal to take his "red coats" to carry Ypres by storm in 1658, on which occasion it was mainly owing to Schomberg's knowledge of the character of the English soldiers that he was enabled to seize the opportunity which proved so successful, and which was so honourable to British valour and sound judgment in danger.

Campaign in Portugal.

We have now to follow our warrior to a distant kingdom, in which fate gave him the command of an army that was largely composed of English soldiers. He was invited by the Queen Regent of Portugal to defend that kingdom against the designs of Spain for its reconquest, and landed at Lisbon from an English frigate on the 13th November, 1660, bringing with him about eighty officers and 400 horsemen. As he passed down Channel, he picked up at Havre a Portuguese ambassador, who had been specially sent to engage the General's services, and who now rejoined him with about 400 French volunteers. Schomberg, like the military and naval officers of every age and country, after a long war dreaded the inaction of peace, and was not particular as to the quarrel he proposed to aid. This feeling is much to be reprehended, but we have had examples of it in our own day. It may be interesting to recount shortly the circumstances that brought about the war to which this expedition of many nations gave rise.

Portugal, after having submitted to the Spanish yoke for sixty years, was freed from it in 1640 by the successful insurrection which placed the Duke of Braganza on the throne of that kingdom with the title of John IV., when the Duchess Dowager of Mantua, who had been styled Governess of Portugal by the King of Spain, was civilly packed off from the country to rejoin her relations. The circumstances of the War of the Fronde, which terminated at the Peace of the Pyrenees, prevented the possibility of the Spanish Sovereign recovering the possession of Portugal until now that he had no other demand upon his arms, when he resolved to avail himself of a moment of leisure to reconquer the little kingdom; and, with this object, prepared a force, the command of which he gave to his natural son, Don John of Austria. The preparations for the reconquest of their country on the part of so powerful a neighbour filled the Portuguese nation with well-founded alarm; for they had to defend their independence against the ascendancy of Spain without an ally, or even the ordinary advantages of assisting circumstances to afford the hope of sustaining the throne of Braganza.

1640. — The King of Spain prepares to reconquer Portugal.

By the death of John of Braganza the throne had devolved on a boy of thirteen years of age, who took the title of Alphonso III.; but the Queen Mother, who was a Spanish lady of the house of Medina Sidonia, had been named Regent, and evinced a vigour in the critical state of the young kingdom which was scarcely to have been expected from one who might have imbibed the lethargy as well as all the prejudices of a born subject of the Spanish Crown. She saw clearly that she could not sustain her son's sceptre with the Portuguese army, whose officers knew nothing of their profession, and who, in the resistance she had already experienced, had committed many grievous blunders. Accordingly, she addressed herself, by the special envoy above noticed, to Cardinal Mazarin, to obtain an

England sends assistance to Portugal.

1660. auxiliary force from France. On the conclusion of peace with Spain, however, so aggressive a policy as this on the part of France was of course impossible. The Count de Soure, however, had the sagacity to turn to Schomberg, a soldier of fortune, who had given evidence of great ability during his service in the French army, and who saw his career interrupted by a peace that promised durability. Soure successfully recommended the proffered service, and Schomberg, too, listened favourably to the proposal, and, having adjusted his terms, accepted the command. Therefore, after having made a short visit to Germany to take leave of his wife and to settle some family affairs, he, with his two sons Frederick and Meinhard, repaired to London, where Charles II. received him with distinction and as an old acquaintance. The Count de Soure, also, was able to conclude a treaty of alliance offensive and defensive with the English Government, and to engage the aid of a military force. The first detachment, under the command of Lord Inchiquin, forthwith sailed for Portugal with the troops; but they were all taken prisoners in the passage across the seas, and carried to Algiers by the Barbary Corsairs.

The King, however, had given a separate passage to Schomberg in an English frigate, which also carried over Sir Richard Fanshawe, as ambassador from His Majesty to the Portuguese Queen Regent. Lord Inchiquin and the troops, having been released by the Dey, shortly afterwards arrived at Lisbon, and were immediately marched into the Alemtejo, in which they took up their quarters by the end of January, 1660. Schomberg found himself under the nominal direction of a Portuguese Generalissimo, but nevertheless assumed the command of all the foreign contingents which he found collected about Elvas in the Alemtejo province. The same utter incompetence for independent military command, and the same prejudice against serving under a stranger, have always marked

the peoples of the great Iberian peninsula. The Generalissimo had a pomposity of command assumed by no other soldier, going into action dressed as for a lady's drawing-room, and for the most part riding in a gilded carriage drawn by eight mules. These were military coxcombs, luxurious, inactive, and utterly destitute of any military experience, or of any knowledge of the resources of war. Nevertheless the Regent would not place the Portuguese troops directly under Schomberg; so that the Confederate army, consisting of no more than 8000 men, rested under a double command. 1661. —

Don John of Austria crosses the Guadiana and summons Arronchez.

Schomberg, with the true spirit of an able soldier, proceeded to inform himself of the natural advantages of the country which was to be defended against the apprehended invasion of the Spaniards; and, with a proper deference, reported his opinion to the Queen Regent; and, on his recommendation, Estremoz and Evora were placed in some state of defence. Towards the end of May, 1661, the report came in that Don John of Austria had crossed the frontier stream of the Guadiana; and on the 15th June, 1661, he debouched on Badajoz at the head of the most effective little army that Spain had ever displayed, consisting of 10,000 infantry and 5000 horse, with artillery in a very improved condition. Passing by Campo Mayor, the Spaniards assaulted the fort of Orguela, in its vicinity, and Don John then sat down with his army before Arronchez.

Schomberg's attempt to relieve the garrison of Arronchez frustrated by the "Councils of War."

Schomberg, with the Count d'Atougia, Governor of the Province, had their head-quarters in the fortress of Elvas; and as soon as he received notice that the enemy was on the move he took the field, and reached Estremoz the same day that Don John summoned Arronchez. The vice of Councils of War prevailed at this period in the Portuguese army to a greater extent even than elsewhere; and the first course taken was to summon one. Schomberg clearly laid his advice before it, which no one attempted to answer or con-

1662. trovert. But D'Atougia broke up the Council without agreeing with Schomberg or coming to any decision. The Regent, and the kingdom at large, thought it strange, that after having brought the most experienced and distinguished General of the day from such a distance, he should not have been listened to. But, nevertheless, Schomberg, whose forbearance and modesty were as remarkable as his experience in war, submitted in silence to this provoking indecision. Seeing clearly, however, the danger of inaction, he took upon himself to collect together all the forces at Estremoz, which amounted to about 13,000 troops of all arms, and at once marched at their head towards Arronchez on the 28th July. The garrison, however, had already surrendered before he could arrive. But the Spanish army, satisfied with this conquest, marched away on the approach of Schomberg, across the little river Gevora, and took up their quarters of repose from the summer heats, which had already set in. This example was speedily followed by the Confederates by order of Atougia; so that about the middle of August the allied army was quartered in the strong towns of the Province, which they were required to fortify: and thus ended the first campaign.

Schomberg's attempts to reconstruct the Portuguese army.

Schomberg was not, however, the man to remain idle, but immediately applied himself to instruct the Portuguese in the duties of the field during the time that they remained in garrison, and taught them how to encamp in order of battle if they were summoned to the field, while he enlightened the officers and the engineers on the first principles of defence, of which they were utterly ignorant. His son, Count Meinhard, has left us this picture of the national army, in a letter to his mother at this period still extant:—"The soldiers were for the most part Jews, who were always quarrelling with each other; but they were of a race from whom it was necessary to defend yourself front and rear. My father had the

greatest difficulty in managing them. They were jealous of being commanded by a Christian, although there was not a Jew among them of sufficient intelligence for any command whatever; but they would rather lose a battle than learn how to gain one by the instruction of a stranger." 1662. —

A Spanish convoy is captured.

Schomberg availed himself of this prolonged period of repose to repair to Lisbon, where he was most graciously received by the Queen Regent; but the cabals that divided the mother and son in the government prevented him from obtaining a consent to any reforms; so that after losing two months in the endeavour to effect some ameliorations, he returned to the army at the end of November. He found the troops unpaid, discontented, and full of dissensions. The English were especially mutinous, and it was difficult to prevent them from deserting. The French were intriguing with the Spaniards, so that he was obliged to order some of them to be shot for being found in direct communication with Don John. At the beginning of 1662 the Marquis de Marialva succeeded Count D'Atougia in the government of the Province, and there ensued a better understanding between the Portuguese and the foreigners in consequence of the change. Schomberg had the good fortune to cut off a considerable convoy for the replenishment of Arronchez, with which he supplied his army with necessaries; and he also blew up many tumbrils of powder that were captured on their march to the enemy.

Jerumenha capitulates to the troops of Don John.

At length Don John took the field again, and appeared unexpectedly before the walls of Elvas with 9000 infantry and 5000 horse. Marialva thirsted for an opportunity for distinguishing his new command; but the inevitable Council of War must first be assembled. The Spanish army had given out their intention of marching direct on Lisbon, and therefore were content with insulting Elvas; which done, they went on their way, burning and plundering the whole

1662. country. Schomberg again assembled his forces at Estremoz, where he established a formidable camp, defended by artillery and all the best adapted obstacles of defence, while Marialva persisted in establishing himself and his Portuguese soldiers within the walls. Don John, however, was alarmed at Schomberg's resolute countenance, and turned back from his forward march to attack the camp at Estremoz. In the first encounter Schomberg, at the head of his cavalry, repulsed the Spanish advance; but, hearing that Don John was intent on making a night attack, he collected together a quantity of olive wood, which abounded in that district, and placed it in abattis all round his camp. This timber is exceedingly inflammable; as soon, therefore, as the attack commenced, the whole was set on fire with a tremendous glare, under the light of which a formidable fire was opened upon the assailants on every side. The Spaniards, completely blinded by the blaze, could not see their way to advance; and, becoming unmanageable, Don John thought it prudent to march away and undertake the siege of Jerumenha, a fortress situated on the Guadiana, well fortified, garrisoned, and well provided against a siege. Schomberg recommended that, in order to prevent its possible capture, the Confederates should sit down before Albuquerque, to distract the operations of the Spaniards. But in this suggestion he was overruled by the Council of War, which recommended that they should march direct to Jerumenha, in order to force Don John to raise the siege. Schomberg accordingly led the entire army, as expeditiously as possible, in that direction against the enemy: but no sooner did they come in presence of the foe, than the Portuguese clamoured for a retreat on Villa Vicosa, six leagues distant. And the Spaniards, seeing them vacillating and timid, followed after the Confederate army, and so discomposed it that it fell back the whole way to the camp; and on the 9th June Jeru-

menha capitulated: after which feat of arms, both armies separated for their summer quarters. 1663. —

Schomberg resigns his command, but is recalled.

The patience and disgust of Schomberg at the experience he had by this time acquired of the service he had undertaken for Portugal was exhausted, and he could stand it no longer; so that he now repaired to the Court to solicit his dismissal. He found that a great revolution had just occurred, in which the young King had ejected his mother from the Regency, and taken the Government into his own hands. The inconsiderate young monarch accepted Schomberg's resignation, who, accordingly, sold all his equipage, and actually embarked his horses with the design of quitting the country. But the Portuguese nation witnessed with alarm the loss of a military chief upon whom alone depended their successful resistance to the return of Spanish rule. The Juez de Povo, an ancient institution in Portugal,—a sort of Tribune of the People, who had the right of access to the King—went up to His Majesty with a strong but respectful remonstrance, and the departure of Schomberg was stayed. It is said that this step was hastened by the representations of Louis XIV., who sent Monsieur Colbert du Terron to Lisbon expressly to dissuade Schomberg from persisting in his resignation: but for what purpose of policy the French monarch should so interfere is not very intelligible. That England should be solicitous, is more natural; and it would seem that she was also on the stir, for Lord Inchiquin returned to England to hasten the promised succour, and to advise the conditions on which Portugal should receive it. Indeed, while the Marshal was yet at Lisbon, two regiments of infantry and one of cavalry—in all about 3000 men—arrived in that port, bringing with them the commission to Schomberg to act as Commander-in-Chief. Under these circumstances, he recalled his resignation and prepared to return to the army. But in the

1663. — month of March, 1663, he was thrown into a dangerous illness, brought on by the anxieties and disappointments that he had had to endure since he had set foot in the kingdom of Portugal.

The Count de Villaflor takes the supreme command.

He was sufficiently recovered by the beginning of the month of May to resume the command: but he found his friend, the Marquis of Marialva, superseded in the government of the Province by the Count de Villaflor. This change caused him a fresh vexation: but he was assured that, although the new Governor must, in virtue of his office, command the Portuguese army, he was specially instructed to defer in every thing belonging to the Confederate force to the advice of Schomberg.

Schomberg and the nobles dispute for precedence.

Don John commenced the campaign of 1663 with a force of 9000 foot and 6000 horse, and on the 14th May carried the fort of Evora Monte by assault before any assistance could be rendered to it. Schomberg, however, immediately garrisoned the town of Evora, with 3000 foot and 500 horse, and only succeeded in this act a few hours before the Spanish army appeared against it. Don Manoel de Marianda was placed in command of the garrison; and, although the works were in an unfinished state, it was hoped it might yet hold out for a month. The Governor nobly defended it against three assaults: but the impatience of Villaflor represented to Schomberg that the *orders* of his Court and the wishes of his officers could not be longer restrained; and he therefore insisted that a battle should be hazarded for its relief. The whole disposable force of the Confederates did not exceed 6000; but some militia were hastily collected, and the army set itself in order to march, led by the Count de Villaflor on horseback in his Court dress with silk stockings, his head dressed with care, and a robe of watered silk, embroidered with gold and silver, covering his body, bound with a green velvet belt!

Schomberg, in the advance, received the sad intelligence that Evora had surrendered, and hastened back to advise the Governor to halt the army. When he announced his report, his Excellency merely replied, "Very well, then; nothing remains for us but to conquer the enemy;" and he put spurs to his horse and galloped to the front. However, before he had made his first curvet, it was needful to assemble the inevitable Council of War: and this was accordingly held in a chapel by the road-side, and was attended by eighteen officers, only one of whom pronounced for an attack. The determination was accordingly taken for a retreat; but as this decision was contrary to the orders of the Court, all the members were called upon to sign the despatch of the Governor announcing it. The nobles present insisted on writing their names before that of Schomberg; but, as the soldiers resented this indignity offered to their general, a dispute ensued, which was continued into the middle of the night before this most absurd tribunal could arrive at any decision whatever, or that any orders could be given for the march of the army. 1663. —

At length, from utter ignorance what course to take, Schomberg pronounced for an immediate retreat, in order to take up a position of observation in the mountains, and as soon as he learnt that Don John had detached his cavalry away towards Alcazar, on the road to Lisbon, he advised Villaflor to endeavour to cut them off by marching directly into the centre of the Spanish army. But before this step could be adopted by another Council of War, the Spaniards had captured the place, and were again concentrated and in full march for the Portuguese camp, against which they opened a heavy fire of artillery, which lasted all night. Schomberg on this withdrew the army into a better position, which relieved the camp from the Spanish fire, but not before 1500 men of the militia regiments had abandoned their colours or fled. The

The Confederates repulse the Spaniards at Ameixiel.

1663. Portuguese general upon this had no other resource but another Council of War.

In the meanwhile Don John proceeded on his march towards Alcazar del Sol, which also surrendered to him; and as this place was not more than sixty miles distant from Lisbon, the news occasioned such alarm there that Villaflor received a positive order from the King to risk an engagement at all hazards. The Confederates accordingly advanced towards the enemy by forced marches; and on the 7th June the hostile armies came in presence at the village of Ameixiel, near Estremoz. Schomberg took up a position on the heights above the river Degebe, and Don John advanced to attack it; but while he was endeavouring to find the means of crossing the river, Schomberg detached two English regiments, with one of Portuguese cavalry, who fell with such resolution and bravery upon the Spanish battalions, that they fled across the plain until all the Spanish cavalry came down to assist them; and Schomberg recommended an immediate attack of the entire force, but Villaflor absolutely refused to permit it. In the night the Spanish army fell back to Badajoz, and another Council of War was summoned for the morning of the 8th.

At this it was represented, that although the King's order by the Count de Castelmelhor was doubtless to take advantage of any occasion to give battle, yet Villaflor gave his judgment that the Spaniards were now in a stronger position than before, and were vastly superior in cavalry. When Schomberg quitted the Council he was surrounded by the officers of all nations and ranks, headed by Simon de Vasconcelos, brother of the Minister of State, who loudly urged the Royal command to fight. Schomberg had some time previously resolved to take advantage of the Generalissimo's absence to order an attack. So now mounting his horse, he proceeded to reconnoitre the Spanish position, and forthwith ordered an advance.

The two armies were separated by a small ravine called O'Canal, which was soon crossed. It was half-past three in the afternoon when the guns opened, under which the English, Portuguese, and French horse were led forward by Colonel Duncan against the Spanish cavalry, composed of the Spanish guards of Don John and the Duke de St. Germain, who awaited the assault behind a large ditch. The English, without firing a shot, as soon as they discovered the obstacle, at once leaped the ditch, to the astonishment of the Dons, who turned at the sight, and fled in dismay through the intervals of the line of infantry, behind which it was formed up. This was immediately attacked by Colonel Hunt, who followed close after the horse with his infantry; and the enemy in half an hour was routed at all points. Nevertheless the Spanish cavalry rallied and succeeded in obliging the Portuguese cavalry and three companies of French to repass the ditch. Colonel Duncan accordingly halted, and reformed the English cavalry, and returned to the scene of action, where he found Colonel Pearson, of Apsley's regiment, stoutly contesting the position. The Portuguese infantry here joined them, and a heavy fire of Spanish artillery was opened upon them: but luckily their guns were so ill served that they did little execution. The Spanish infantry nevertheless were still at this time regarded as invincible, and they really fought well. Schomberg, who was present every where, came down to lead the Confederates at the opportune moment, and maintained the battle with spirit. He ordered Colonel Hunt, with the English infantry, to advance against the Spanish guns: and this order was so promptly obeyed that he carried forward his regiment to the very muzzles, when, opening his fire at quarter distance, the Spaniards were mowed down in their lines on which they stood, after which the English, with loud cries and lowered pikes, fell upon them and slaughtered them in considerable numbers. By this

1663.
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The battle of O'Canal.

1663. time, after a severe struggle, the Spanish cavalry were effectually overcome: but not until Duncan and most of the English officers were slain. The slaughter had been grievous. A son of Schomberg fell in the fight, with 2500 men. But the day was won, and 4000 of the Spanish army were left on the field. Two batteries of four guns were captured, and all Don John's rich camp equipage. 3000 ammunition waggons and much gold and silver were also captured. Schomberg completed the victory by a charge at the head of his own regiment of Portuguese, amongst whom he bivouacked for the night.

Brave conduct of the English troops.

It is related that the Generalissimo, when he was informed of Schomberg's conduct, did not counter-order it, but galloped to a hill from which he could command a view of the action: but when he saw the English troops marching against the Spanish batteries without firing a shot, he thought they were deserting to the enemy, and, disgusted at their treason, vomited all kinds of imprecations against them. These happened to be heard by an English clergyman of the name of Cargill, who could not reply in Portuguese, but assured the Generalissimo in Latin that his countrymen could never be guilty of such baseness. When, however, he heard the well-sustained cheer opened, and saw the enemy in flight, he exclaimed, "Aquelles herejes son mehores que os nossos santos;" "Truly these heretics are better than our saints."

The English and Portuguese kings reward the English troops, and Schomberg is constituted a grandee of the kingdom.

This victory is variously recorded in history as "the battle of Ameixiel, O'Canal," or "of Estremoz." When King Alphonso heard of it, and how much it was owing to the daring and gallantry of the English contingent, he commanded that each man of them should receive a reward of three pounds of snuff! But the Britons did not understand such pleasantry, and contemptuously threw the snuff into the air. Their own sovereign, Charles II., however, sent a more substantial proof of royal recompense, by desiring

40,000 crowns to be distributed among them, which made the red-coats very loyal. In September of this year the Portuguese King had got together in the field within the north and south frontier as many as 20,000 foot and 2000 horse; and he talked seriously of pressing the horses of the principal grandees, in order to be enabled to increase his cavalry. But he was dissuaded from so unpopular a proceeding. In honour of the battle he now constituted Schomberg a grandee of the kingdom, with a revenue of 2000 crowns a year; but as the Marshal was a Protestant, he could not give him any title of honour. His Majesty, however, recalled the Count de Villaflor, and again named the Marquis de Marialva to be Generalissimo, but with an understanding that he was to consider himself as under the advice of Schomberg, who was declared military governor of the Alemtejo. Before Villaflor quitted the army, however, the siege of Evora had been undertaken, which capitulated to the allies after a week's trenches. The Generalissimo was huffed at this new honour to Schomberg, and shut himself up in his tent; but as soon as he heard that the town was taken, he went forth to receive the keys of the place, and, what was more to his liking, to get possession of the booty, when, having received official notice of his recall, he returned to Lisbon.

1664.

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He invests Alcanza d'Alcantara, which capitulates.

The campaign of 1664 was not very important; and the year was already on the decline before the contending armies entered the field. About the middle of June the inevitable Council of War continued to be held, although Schomberg, in quality of Governor of the Alemtejo, was also Generalissimo. They were in camp on the banks of the Caya, and after some discussion it was resolved to undertake the siege of Valencia d'Alcantara. The Confederate army was now estimated at 22,000 foot; for some subsidies and reinforcements had joined it from France. This army was more than usually deprived of a sufficiency of

1664. — cavalry, but marched first upon Badajoz, as if disposed to undertake the siege of that considerable fortress; but, after having remained before it a night and a day, they turned aside to Alcanza d' Alcantara, five leagues from thence. This was not much more than a hill-fort, situated on a steep rock, and the fortifications were ancient. Nevertheless Schomberg invested it and summoned the Governor; when, having at much self-sacrifice obtained the requisite supplies, he determined to carry the outposts. The two English regiments were engaged in this service, and soon made themselves masters of the outlying works, with the loss of 150 killed and 250 wounded. In about five days a capitulation was demanded; but, as the garrison desired to stipulate that they were not to become prisoners of war, the negotiations were broken off, and Schomberg ordered an assault. The English were told off for the right attack, and the Portuguese for that of the left. The former carried the breach with such impetuosity that they made their way into the streets of the town; but the Portuguese failed to support this advance, and the assaulting troops were obliged to be withdrawn. The siege continued for another four days after this, when the garrison, having obtained the terms they desired, capitulated on the 24th.

Successful stratagem of Magellan to raise the siege of Castel Rodrigo.

The Duke D'Ossuna commanded at this time the Portuguese army of the north of Spain, and, finding few troops opposed to him, resolved to sit down before Castel Rodrigo, which was feebly garrisoned by about 250 men. The besieging force numbered 8000 men, with nine guns; and the commander of the district was Magellan, a descendant of the famous navigator; but he had only in the field 4000 foot and 600 horse with which to attempt to raise the siege. He therefore cast about for some stroke of genius to aid such an attempt, and bethought himself of a singular expedient. He sent messengers to all the neighbouring towns to seek to buy up all the scarlet cloth that

was to be had, and with this he clad as many of his soldiers as he could. The great reputation obtained by the English through their gallant conduct at the battle of Ameixiel and at the assault of Valencia d'Alcantara gave him reason to hope that he might derive some signal advantage from this device; but he was scarcely prepared for the result that followed, which was, that the enemy at sight of the scarlet force threw down their arms, believing that the English had become their assailants. The fact is recorded in the private correspondence of Consul Maynard and Secretary Bennet, and is also mentioned by Dumouriez: the former declaring that the anecdote was told him by some Spanish officers who served in the engagement, and that Schomberg had expressed himself to him as quite satisfied of the truth of the narrative; while the mention of the affair by Dumouriez is "cette subite apparition produisit une telle terreur panique sur les Espagnols, qu'ils enfuirent, abandonnant leur canon et leur baggage, en criant, Ce *sont les Anglais*." Magellan lost only twenty men killed and six wounded; and he made the whole garrison prisoners. This is a trait of successful genius in war deserving of being recorded, because it is found in every age that such expedients, however childish they seem, have their value. 1665. —

Divisions in the Confederate Camp.

In 1665 Don John of Austria was superseded in the command of the Spanish army by the Marquis de Carracena. Marialva was still in command of the Portuguese army under Schomberg, and the chiefs continued good friends; but perpetual differences arose between the English and the French soldiers, and between them and the authorities of the kingdom. Some thirty French officers threw up their commissions in displeasure, and were in consequence seized and cast into prison by the Mestro de Campo, who also tried his hand on some English, who had become intensely disgusted: they had put up with many annoyances, but had resolved to undergo every thing rather than be

1665. disobedient to their sovereign's wishes. Nevertheless there was also a term to their endurance. The Count de Castel Major, the minister, most unwisely at such a time, issued an order requiring all foreign officers to surrender their native commissions, in order to accept new ones under the Portuguese King. This created a great perplexity among the English, who were at a loss what course to take; for, on the one hand, their sense of honour prevented a refusal to serve when the enemy was actually ready in the field, and, on the other hand, they did not conceal their determination not to deliver up commissions given by their own king for those of a foreign prince. Schomberg likewise, who, like the inferior officers, had his vexations with the Portuguese ministers, was again on the point of resigning his command; but the Marshal came to an accommodation with them once more under the intermediary of the Juaz de Povo, and he repaired to the frontiers on the 12th May to resume the command of the army. He found nothing even under consideration for the ensuing campaign, nor any preparations making by Marialva, the Portuguese General. Accordingly, with his accustomed energy, he immediately set to work to do the business himself. He collected in the camp at Estremoz a force of 14,000 foot and 2500 horse, arranged for every supply and maintenance, and took the requisite steps to repel any approach of the enemy.

The Castle of Villa Vicosa holds out.

On the 9th June Carracena crossed the frontier at the head of 15,000 foot and 8000 horse, and at once assaulted Broba, about half a league from Villa Vicosa, which he captured without any resistance; and on the 10th he was equally fortunate against that town: but by the forethought of Schomberg the castle of Villa Vicosa had been armed, garrisoned, and victualled; so that after a resistance that cost the Spaniards 3000 men, the Portuguese Governor, Emanuel Lobato, though finding it necessary to evacuate the town, was yet able to retreat with the principal inhabitants and 3000 soldiers

into the Castle. This afforded time to the Count St. Jean, who, unlike his brother officers, had acquired in France some knowledge of military organization and was sincere in his duties, to collect an army, which he now brought up to Schomberg's command, raising the number of the Confederate army to 16,000 foot and 5600 horse: at the same time, the Court sent peremptory orders to relieve the citadel, and even to risk a battle for this object, if there were no other means of saving the place. It is said that the young King desired to repair himself to the army, but that the people would not permit it. Schomberg was desirous of relieving the Governor Lobato, and of assisting him in his gallant resistance: he therefore carefully reconnoitred all the positions about Villa Vicosa with this view. At length he arrived at the conviction that Montes Claros was the most favourable ground on which to accept a battle. 1665. —

Battle of Montes Claros.

The Confederate army was accordingly put in motion on the 17th June out of the camp of Estremoz; the General of Cavalry, Denys de Mello, being sent in advance with six squadrons of cavalry to insure the possession of the heights. As the army approached the ground Schomberg pointed out with delight the horse that he saw on the summit, which he assumed to be those he had ordered thither under Mello; when to his horror he found, as he neared the spot, that the Spanish cavalry were there before him. He immediately sent for Denys de Mello to account for his neglect of orders, who told the General that, having judged that thirty men were sufficient for the purpose, he had not sent more; and that they had been driven in. Schomberg replied in anger, "You deserve, Sir, to be hung for disobeying written orders; and I am not sure I shan't hang you." There was no time however to lose: squadron after squadron came down from the hill, and formed up in the plain in face of Schomberg, in two lines of twenty-two squadrons each.

1665. — Battle of Montes Claros.

With a rapid coup d'œil the General formed his men, both cavalry and infantry mixed, in two lines, resting his right flank on a rivulet and his left upon an old building, into which he threw a Portuguese battalion and two guns. But, as the Spanish squadrons still came up, and even formed a third line, Schomberg, whose horse were already all now placed, formed his third line principally of infantry, keeping six squadrons as a reserve against emergencies. The English troops were, as usual, placed on the left wing; and as this had become customary, Carracena was prepared with his best Swiss and Germans to oppose them; and these charged before the formation could be completed. A sharp conflict ensued between these combatants amidst the walls and vineyards that surrounded the old building; until, as the foes got closer, they came to personal encounters with swords and halberds, in which the officers took part. A Swiss Lieutenant-Colonel killed the Colonel of Schomberg's regiment, and was himself killed by the Major; until at length the English habit of *clubbing* proved too much for the Swiss, who threw down their arms and cried for quarter. The French regiment of Clairain encountered two of the best Castilian regiments, and suffered much loss until relieved by Schomberg's opportune arrival at the head of two squadrons of his reserve. The Portuguese cavalry on the right wing stood well, until the General sent up some pikemen, with orders to occupy the intervals and strike the horse of the enemy as they attacked. This is one of the many first approaches on record to the practical use of the bayonet. The enemy was nevertheless so numerous that they threatened Schomberg with annihilation by a furious charge of the Imperial Cuirassier Regiment from Rabata, whose chief being killed, and the regiment not being supported, breathing time was afforded to Schomberg, who was obliged to change his horse, which had been more than once wounded. He now ordered his son Frederick to take two squadrons

of English dragoons and fall upon the flanks of the Spanish Cuirassiers of Maré and Breginmant, for he had observed them to have got into disarray in the ardour of their first advance. 1665. — Battle of Montes Claros.

This operation the Spaniards checked; but the Portuguese baggage, and the skulkers, who always abound in the rear of contending armies, being alarmed at the close approach of the battle, fled to Estremoz, and terrified the Portuguese camp with the tidings of a defeat, which were hastily sent off to the court. However, Schomberg persevered in his policy to direct all his exertions against the enemy's cavalry, for in his experience he had observed that, in dealing with the Spaniards, the infantry would never stand when deprived of the support of the horse. The first line, commanded by the Duke of Parma, had become completely exhausted; so that the guns that had been opened upon them forced them to take refuge among some olive-trees, which parcelled them into detached groups, against which pikemen could maintain a great advantage; and many here laid down their arms. Finally the Spaniards took refuge within the park of Villa Vicosa; into which Colonels Chauvet and Meinard de Solonby followed them, and carried by assault a sort of fort, into which a body of 4000 men had crowded. These therefore surrendered, with forty-five standards. At length Carracena ordered a retreat upon Jerumenha, leaving 3000 dead on the field and 5000 prisoners. The English, who had taken the greatest part in the conflict, lost upwards of 150 commissioned officers and 800 men slain; 500 Portuguese also fell: but the trophies of the day amounted to sixteen pieces of artillery, and more than sixty standards; and Don Diego Correa, the Spanish General, with many others, was taken prisoner. The Portuguese did good service with the pike; and the Marquis de Marialva and the Count de St. Jean both greatly distinguished themselves in their commands. Schomberg was every where, and Victory of the Confederates.

1665. exhibited a surprising amount of *sangfroid* under the changing fortunes of the contest. Some one in the battle, defending himself against some charge that had been made against him, said inadvertently, "he believed the fools took him for a German." "They were much to blame," said the General, who overheard him, "they had taken you with more reason for a fool." When the news of the victory was carried to Philip IV., the agitation of the pious King was so great that he let fall out of his hand the announcement of this grievous disappointment to all his hopes of reconquering Portugal with the exclamation, "God wills it," and died.

Great credit given to the English troops.

The battle of Montes Claros added increased renown to the acquisition of the English ascendancy of honour. The minister, Castel Major, himself told Consul Maynard, at Lisbon (representing there the English legation, in the absence of Sir Richard Fanshawe, the Ambassador), that next to God he did impute this victory to the valour of England; and that their gallantry was the more to be commended for their many justifiable discontents; seeing that, from the necessities of the State, they had not received a farthing of their pay since February;" and the Consul adds, "that was real truth: the men had had nothing to subsist upon for twenty-four hours but bread and water; and that the officers laboured under abundance of difficulties to lead the soldiers into the field under such a depressing circumstance. But as soon as they found they were to engage the enemy, all mutinous language and all grievances were hushed in the British lines. Among other officers who fell in the battle was Lieutenant-Colonel Sheldon, who had in the whole Portuguese war behaved with as much gallantry as was possible for a man to do, and now died with much honour; on which occasion the Marquis de Sandé writes thus:—"Que les Anglais ont eu une grande part dans la mémorable victoire de Montes Claros le dix-sept jour de ce mois: mais dans le choc de

nos armes nous eûmes un déplaisir très grand avec la mort de M. Scheldon, qui en perdit vaillamment la sienne, ce qui fut cause que nous réussirons complètement." 1665. —

Letter of Castel Major to Schomberg.

Castel Major wrote a characteristic letter to Schomberg on the 23rd June, 1665:—"To my Lord of Schomberg more than to any other are due all thanks for his valour, which was the principal instrument of the success which God is pleased to give us on this occasion. May you live a thousand years, that you may give us many such days."

The Portuguese return to Estremoz, and both armies go into winter quarters.

On the morning that followed the day of the battle (the 18th June), the soldiers collected all the trophies of the victory around the General's tent; and, to the sound of cymbals, drums, and trumpets, Schomberg in person received the gratulations of the army. But the inevitable Council of War must nevertheless be held, at which the General proposed to march the same night across the Guadiana. But, notwithstanding what might have been expected under the circumstances of such a decisive victory, it was determined by a majority to reject Schomberg's proposition, and to return to the camp at Estremoz. The desire of enjoying glory in repose overcame all other considerations in the breasts of the Portuguese military; and after this ludicrous interchange of self-gratulations on their glory, they rested utterly idle until October, when at length, to the number of 1500 men, they consented to follow their leader on a march along the frontiers of Spain, between Merida and Talavera; while the valiant Spaniards, with the same degree of indolence, made, on their part, a similar incursion across the frontier into Portugal. The two parties, however, did happen to cross paths, when Schomberg attacked the Duke of Parma, made many prisoners, and brought back 300 cavalry horses with him as part of his booty. After this, the General was ordered to repair to the Court; and both armies were placed in winter quarters.

The death of Philip IV. of Spain, in September, 1665,

1665. so deranged the policy of that kingdom, that the Spanish army remained quiet all the winter, during which Schomberg was housed at Estremoz, giving the English the best quarters about Elvas and Villa Vicosa. The French, changing their policy with Spain with the King's death, now sent a reinforcement to serve under Schomberg's orders; and Louis XIV. graciously permitted the Marshal to sell his commission in the Scotch Gendarmes, which produced him 15,000 livres. The campaigns in Portugal languished from this period; and finally the deposition of King Alphonso of Portugal opened an opportunity for negotiating a treaty with France and Spain, which was concluded the 13th February, 1668. In the month of May Schomberg quitted Portugal, having been created for his services Count de Mertola, with a pension of about 5000*l.* a year to him and his heirs. The British contingent was also sent home under the command of his son the Count Frederick, who, shortly after giving up this command, died in Germany at the age of twenty-eight years.

Death of Philip of Spain.

1668. Schomberg quits Portugal.

Madame de Sévigné.

On the return of Schomberg to France he made the acquaintance of Madame de Sévigné, who thus writes of him to Madam Grignan, 1671 :—" M. de Schomberg me parait un des plus aimables maris du monde, sans compter que c'est un héros. Il a l'esprit orné, et une intelligence dont on lui sait un gré non pareil."

1674. Schomberg is created a Marshal of France: he serves in Holland and on the Rhine.

In 1674 he was invited by the King of France to assume the command of his army in Roussillon; but before he could enter on a campaign against the Spaniards, the army in his front was sent away in haste to repair the disasters to the Spanish arms in Sicily; so that he found no enemy to encounter. The death of Turenne, and the retirement of Condé from active service, rendered France so deficient in military leaders, that in 1675, Schomberg, although a Protestant, was created a Maréchal of France, in the batch of eight that was created in that year. He was opposed

in the following year to the Prince of Orange, in the army that he commanded under Louis XIV. But His Majesty forbade the battle that was imminent at Bouchain in May; and consequently at the end of August the Marshal captured Airs, a place of considerable strength, and then marching with the entire French forces through the heart of the Spanish Low Countries, was enabled to save Maastricht and Charleroi from the hands of the Dutch. It is said that William could never quite forget nor forgive his having been compelled by Schomberg to retire from before Maastricht, and though his necessities obliged him afterwards to employ the Marshal, he always retained this old grudge against him. 1675.

Schomberg served under Maréchal de Crequi a campaign on the Rhine in 1677; and as we do not hear of him in the subsequent years of the war, we conclude that the successes of De Crequi had in fact superseded the employment of the foreigner; but on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in 1685, he was obliged to solicit his discharge from the service of France, which he was only permitted to do by withdrawing to Portugal, where he thought that the services he had rendered the house of Braganza would have obtained for him a country that he might claim as his own. But the Inquisition was too potent in its influence with the Portuguese Court, which was otherwise disposed to have been his friend; so that he was obliged to leave the kingdom and return to Germany, where he received a proposition from the Great Elector to take the command of the Prussian army in 1686. There is reason to believe that when the negotiation for this service was entered upon, Marshal von Schomberg was already in the confidence of the Prince of Orange; so that when, in 1688, Frederick William died, Schomberg at once entered into the Dutch service, and assisted William in the enterprise to seek a crown in England. He embarked and landed with

1689. William in Torbay, and in command of it, carried up the army to London.

He is made General of the forces of the King of England. It is not necessary to recount here the steps by which the Prince of Orange obtained the prize he sought, because the Marshal had little to do in that matter. Upon William's advancement to the British throne in 1689, Schomberg was created Marshal and General of His Majesty's forces and Master-General of the Ordnance. In the same year he was created a Duke and Knight of the Garter, and received from Parliament a dotation of 100,000*l.*

Campaign in Ireland. In the autumn of 1689 Schomberg was sent to Ireland as Commander-in-Chief of the English army, to reduce that kingdom to William's allegiance. He landed on the coast of Down on the 13th August, and marched directly upon Belfast, which he occupied without difficulty, and hastening to obtain possession of Carrickfergus, which he succeeded in doing on the 26th, he marched forward through Lisburne and Hillsborough, and encamped at Dromore. Upon taking the command he found that the forces assembled barely numbered 14,000, of whom there were about 2000 cavalry, the whole very badly found in every thing. James II. was already in the field with an army of thrice that amount. General Rosen, commanding the Royal army, took up a position at Drogheda, with about 20,000 men, and Schomberg, therefore, halted at Dundalk, where he continued in an uncertain position till the 20th September, when Rosen sent part of his army to seize on Ardee, between Dundalk and Drogheda, and despatched 2000 foot and 1500 horse beyond the mountains to secure the pass at Newry. Upon which Schomberg made a demonstration with all his cavalry against them, and they retreated. However, the day following the enemy appeared again, placed in order of battle, and the horse patroles advanced even to the Duke's entrenchments. Several of his English officers were for engaging, but Schomberg, with the

coolness attached to experience, restrained their impatience by saying, "Let them alone, and let us see what they will do;" and though he saw the Irish army coming within cannon-shot of his guns, yet he said still, "Let them alone. I do not think they design to fight." Nevertheless when Rosen drew up his army in two lines, he sent General Douglas to the camp to order the infantry to stand to their arms, and the horse to be recalled into the camp. But after some time the Irish drew off, and so the affair ended, to the great disappointment of the English army, who hoped no less than a victory. 1689.

Duke Schomberg rested still in camp, but the Inniskillers, on the 27th, headed by Colonel Lloyd, routed a body of 5000 horse, who were marching towards Sligo, killing 700 and taking O'Kelly their commander prisoner, with many officers, and making a great booty of cattle. The Duke was so pleased with this success, that he ordered the Inniskillen horse and foot into camp, where he received them with marked attention, riding along their line with his hat in his hand, and causing the Dutch guards to make a running fire, together with the ships that lay in the river, to give them a regular salute. Though Schomberg prudently declined fighting as a general policy, yet his troops were daily disabled and swept away by a raging sickness; so that about 2000 died in camp, and many were shipped off to be transported to Belfast. But as winter now approached both armies went into quarters. But full one half of the army he had brought over had already perished, and accordingly he renewed his instances for the sending to him a large portion of the 7000 Danish auxiliary force which about this time had arrived in England, pursuant to a treaty that had been signed by the King of Denmark in August. Schomberg was much censured by many military critics for not acting more boldly; and William himself wrote twice to his General, pressing him to take the field. But the Duke saw that his

1690. enemy was well posted and well provided, and he knew that if he met with ever so slight a check, or failed in any attempt, all Ireland might be lost to King William, for he could not have effected any safe retreat. He considered that his surest game was to hold Ulster, and there preserve the army. Therefore, though he was at the time exposed to blame for his conduct, the judgment of posterity has been that his management of this campaign evinced greater generalship than that which he displayed in the whole period of his career. The Irish Papists, who formed the bulk of James's army, were never remarkable for correct discipline; and the wild attempts they made to beat up Schomberg's quarters not only failed, but these failures grafted on the English army a degree of confidence in themselves and their General that greatly augmented their successful bearing. Schomberg persevered in holding firm his camp during the whole of a most inclement autumn, indeed until he removed his army into winter quarters in October.

Disposition of forces on the river Boyne.

In 1690 King William himself assumed the command of his army, and landed at Carrickfergus on the 14th June. The troops had been already so fully prepared under Schomberg's discipline for the march, that they took the field within six days of His Majesty's arrival, and were established on the right bank of the Boyne river. By the Marshal's vigilant administration the army was now 36,000 strong, all in excellent condition and full of heart and zeal in William's cause. When Duke Schomberg was told that King James was advancing to give battle, he coldly answered, "That is as *we* may think proper;" for he saw the full advantage the English army had acquired.

Difference with King William.

On the 30th June the two Royal armies appeared in presence; and King William issued orders, without consulting the Marshal, that his forces should cross the river at break of day. Schomberg at first ex-

postulated with his Royal friend on the danger of such an attempt, and, finding his master inflexible, he felt hurt at this want of deference to him, and represented to the King that it would be better that a portion only of the army should cross the Boyne, and occupy Slanebridge overnight, in order to be able to get forward in the morning to the pass of Duleek. But his advice was summarily rejected by William, and the Marshal withdrew to his tent deeply offended. In due time the King's peremptory order was conveyed to him, which he received with cold indifference, saying, "It was the first that was ever *sent* him." 1690. —

Schomberg killed.

About six in the morning General Douglas with the right wing of the infantry, and Frederick Schomberg with the horse, crossed the Boyne at Slanebridge, while the main body of foot forced a passage at Oldbridge, and at other fords nearer Drogheda. Very little opposition was made to the passage of the English any where; but when they had got across they perceived James's army drawn up in two formidable lines, amounting to a considerable number of both horse and foot, with a morass in their front. Frederick Schomberg was forthwith sent with the cavalry to get round this obstacle, and General Douglas led forward the infantry through the morass: when the Irish, instead of awaiting the assault, faced about and retreated towards Duleek with some precipitation, but not so fast but that Count Frederick fell upon them in their flight, and did them considerable damage. King James, however, soon reinforced his left wing and maintained his position. Duke Schomberg, who had the command of the centre, perceiving this, immediately crossed the river, which was waist high, under a heavy discharge of artillery. King James had posted a strong body of musketeers along the bank of the river, behind hedges, houses, and breastworks, which poured in a close fire upon the English when they reached the bank.

1690. The first troops that formed after crossing was a brigade of Danes and Nassaumen under Sir John Hanmer, who were immediately charged with great impetuosity by the enemy under General Hamilton, which threw the unformed troops into such confusion that they recrossed the river. Duke Schomberg upon this put himself at the head of Monsieur Le Caillemote's French Protestant division,—who had just lost their commander by a mortal wound,—and, in order to encourage them to follow him, addressed them in French in these words, "Allons! Messieurs, voilà vos persecuteurs," alluding to the differences of religion displayed by the two opposed armies. These words were scarcely out of his mouth, when some of the Irish horse, about fifteen or sixteen troopers, returning from the former charge against the Danes, galloped up to the Duke, and gave him two sabre-cuts on the head, neither of which would have been mortal, but that, the French Protestants firing wildly on this body of aggressors, one of the shots struck the Marshal through the neck, and he fell dead on the spot. The death of the General had well nigh proved fatal to the army, which was for the moment involved in tumult and disorder at the sight of so great a calamity; but King William, having crossed the river with his left wing, came up at the moment and restored the battle. The body of the Marshal was carried off the field and was afterwards conveyed to Dublin, and was buried in St. Patrick's Cathedral, where his grave long remained without any monument, until Dean Swift induced the Chapter of the Cathedral to inscribe a stone with his name, which bears an elegant inscription by himself.

His descendants. Marshal Duke Schomberg was in his 82nd year when he fell. He had been twice married—first to a cousin of his own, Johanna von Schomberg, who died while he was serving in his Portuguese campaign, and by whom he had three sons, one of whom fell at the battle of Ameixiel: his second wife was a French-

woman, Susannah d'Aumale, whom he married in 1669, and by whom he had two daughters. Of the sons, Count Frederick, who served with him in the battle, died in 1700. But the youngest, Meinhard, who was also in the battle, became a distinguished general officer, and in the War of the Succession was created Duke of Leinster by King William. He died without issue in 1719; and the descendants of the great Marshal, through the marriages of his two daughters, now remain in both the noble families of Leeds and Lothian; in which latter family the name of Schomberg has been perpetuated as a Christian name. 1690. —

Recapitulation of the Marshal's deeds.

This distinguished warrior had a most remarkable career. Born of a noble genealogy, he was fated to be a military adventurer,—a perfect soldier of fortune. Of German parentage, he served in every army of Europe, excepting that of his countrymen. He commenced in the Swedish service; then in the Dutch army; then in the army of France; then he commanded the soldiers of Portugal and England; and, returning again to the service of Holland, until at length he closed his career as Marshal in the army of Great Britain. Created a Maréchal of France, he was, by the severe bigotry of Louis XIV. driven from that kingdom for being a Protestant; and, though acknowledged to be the saviour of the Royal house of Braganza, he was denied an asylum in the kingdom of Portugal because he could not purchase it by abandoning his faith; and he was killed at the head of a body of French Protestants while assisting a Dutch prince to expel the native king of Great Britain for adhering to the faith of Rome.

His character.

Schomberg was a man of wonderful judgment and of great self-possession. He made his way by dint of earnest application and well-ordered conduct. He was a person of exact probity, and of a meek and obliging temper, though of great fire and spirit on the field of battle. He obtained in his chequered life among so

1690. many nations a thorough experience of the world, and had studied men and manners better than most persons of his day—which is proved by the despatches from him that were found in King William's cabinet; and he was always considered as great in Council as in the field. Though he was, as has been already said, a man of affability and courtesy, he had an air of grandeur about him that commanded very general respect. In his later years his memory somewhat failed him, though his judgment continued clear; and it is thought that it was this imputed approach of senility which induced the king to decline his advice at the battle of the Boyne, though it is believed that the advice was nevertheless the fruit of correct judgment. After his death Madame de Sévigné thus alludes to the event, in a letter dated the 13th August, 1690: "Nous en aurions été plus aises si on ne nous avait fait attendre celle du Prince d'Orange." Schomberg is also named in the "Mémoires du Marquis du Fare" as "originaire Allemand, capitaine très capable et experimenté, qui avait après la paix de 1660 soutenu le Portugal par deux batailles, qu'il avait gagnées, et qui avait quitté la France quand tous ceux de sa religion furent proscrits[3]."

[3] It is remarkable that neither English History nor Biography records Marshal Schomberg's glorious campaigns, so flattering to our own army, in Portugal; and I have been obliged to gather their details from the State Paper Office, "Portugal, 1661—1666," and from a slight brochure of the French General Dumouriez, published at the commencement of the Peninsular War, with a view to excite the patriotism of the Portuguese nation

He speaks of a "Vie du Maréchal de Schomberg écrite en Allemand par Hagner," which I have not met with; and I have failed to find a "Vie de Schomberg par Lusaney, Amsterdam, 1690." Souza's "Historia Genealogica da Casa Real," and "Alexander Herculano Historia do Portugal," speak of the events recorded in this Biography in detail and with pride.

WILLIAM III., KING OF ENGLAND.

A DUTCH GENERAL.

Born 1650. Died 1709.

WILLIAM HENRY of Nassau, Prince of Orange, the third potentate of that Christian name both in Holland and England, was the posthumous child of William II., of Orange, by Mary Stuart, eldest daughter of King Charles I., and was born at the Hague 15th November, 1650, eight days after his father's sudden and premature death, from the combined effects of vexation and small-pox. The death of William II. left the United Provinces without a Stadtholder, and the Dutch army without a head. It was our hero's misfortune to enter the world at a calamitous juncture, when the enemies of his family, flushed with the success of having restrained his father's encroachment upon their privileges, were furnished, by the minority of the young Prince, with the power, of

1650. — His birth.

1650. which they had not anticipated the possession, to deprive the family of Orange of those dignities which it had enjoyed for so many generations. The Barneveldt family, its hereditary enemy, had never been quite extinguished, and was now revived in the person of the De Witts, who were nominated in 1652, in defiance of all the representations of the Princess Mother, to the office of Pensionary of the Republic, engrossing all the authority of the Government in their hands. The people retained an affection for the Orange family throughout the minority of William, although the magistrates induced the States General, in 1667, when the young Prince was approaching his majority, to pass an edict abolishing for ever the office of Stadtholder in Holland. The ambition of Louis XIV., however, effected for the young Prince, on his attaining manhood, what the States were so resolute to oppose.

1672. In the year 1672 the French armies suddenly invaded the United Provinces, entered Utrecht, and were within a few miles of Amsterdam. This afforded the friends of the House of Orange an opportunity to speak out their thoughts, and to throw all the odium of the consternation, that, under such circumstances, was universal, upon the Grand Pensionary and his brother, John and Cornelius De Witt, who were inhumanly murdered by the populace in a tumult that was excited by the miseries inflicted on the country by the French invasion; and the States of Holland and West Friesland being assembled, it was unanimously agreed that the young Prince William should be elected Stadtholder, and appointed General of the Dutch forces[1].

[1] The sturdy Dutchmen yielded to the necessities of the moment in making this appointment; and one of them at the instant of signing the Commission took from his pocket a penknife and significantly cut the parchment, saying, "How can a paper conferring such power, and which yields so readily to this small instrument, resist the point of a sword wielded with address and retained with resolution and firmness?"

The Prince of Orange had no sooner fulfilled the forms of his election and taken the oaths with the accustomed ceremonies than he repaired to the army, which was then posted at Bodegrave, near Nieu Rop, within some entrenchments. Upon the Duke of Buckingham remonstrating with him for the madness of the contest he was undertaking against the greatest King in Christendom, the young hero cheerily responded, " We will lay our whole country under water to keep the invader out of it; and I am ready to die for it in the last ditch." The French forces, under the personal command of Louis XIV., thought to drive the Dutch out of their entrenchments by their greater power; but the young General kept his post with so much skill, that the enemy, powerful as he was, could obtain no advantage over him. His Highness devoted the first season of repose to the re-establishment of better military discipline in the army, and he was under the necessity of ordering several officers to be made severe examples of for their cowardice and treachery; but, having now accomplished every important preliminary, he chafed to see the season passing away in complete inaction, and resolved to assume the offensive by the attack of Noerden. The entire country between the Amstel and the Oude Rhyn, at the diffluence of which streams Utrecht is situated, was submerged, and under this influence the Prince sent two detachments under Horn and Zulestein to threaten the town. The Duke of Luxembourg, who now commanded the enemy, fell upon the latter with 8000 or 9000 men; but, although the gallant Zulestein was slain in the conflict, the Duke succeeded in throwing a fresh garrison of 3000 men into Utrecht. It was an honour almost exceeding that of victory itself that a young Prince of twenty-two should have been so successful against a veteran General of such high reputation as Luxembourg.

1672.
—
Takes the oaths as Stadtholder, and repairs to the army.

William was now at the head of an army of 24,000

1672. horse and foot, and determined to chase the French out of their quarters on the Upper Meuse. With this view he collected his forces at Rozendant, and set it in motion towards Roermonde. Here Count de Duras commanded the French, who hastily crossed the Meuse at Masseyck. The Prince formed his camp near the Azbergen. As Duras showed no disposition to stand for an engagement, the Prince turned against the Count de Montal, who was near Tongeren ; who hastily retreated before him towards Charleroi, not thinking that in the most rigorous season of the year the Dutch would follow him; but the young General marched in the midst of some of the most violent winds, and even threatened to lay siege to Charleroi, but being advised to desist he put his army into winter quarters.

But his old antagonist the Duke of Luxembourg, having assembled all the separate detachments, got together an army of 40,000 horse and foot towards the end of December, and resolved to march across the ice. He had nearly reached Zwammerdam, where he was opposed by Count Königsmark, when the Prince of Orange with incredible speed appeared at Alpen, to the great joy of the natives; for the French were ravaging the country in every direction, making no secret of their intention to enrich themselves with the pillage of Leyden and the Hague. But a sudden thaw nearly drowned the French invaders, who only escaped by a hasty march along a narrow slimy bank guarded by the fort of Woerden, which could not have been taken by storm had not the Governor been induced through his treachery to open the gates. The Prince of Orange was indignant, and sentenced him to lose his head. But young William's blood was now up; and since the French had withdrawn he turned into the province of Over Yssel, and suddenly appeared before Koer Werden, which was garrisoned for the Bishop of Munster. This was one of the strongest fortresses in the Low Countries, and the key of Friesland. It is encompassed on all sides

Surprises Koer Werden.

by a morass, and was fortified with large, deep double 1672.
ditches, and extremely high ramparts, flanked by seven —
bastions, with a castle or citadel deemed impregnable. This place was surprised and successfully stormed by 903 men under De Rabenhaupt, although the whole garrison numbered as many men. A prodigious quantity
of all warlike stores, provisions, and ammunition—for 1673.
it was the principal magazine of those parts—became a prize to the conqueror. During the winter of 1673 the Prince thought to gain new allies, and succeeded with the Electors of Brandenburg and Hanover. All this served to increase the reputation of His Highness; for the people, observing how much better affairs went on since he had taken the management of them, were persuaded that these successes were the effect of his bravery and conduct.

In the beginning of May, 1673, the King of France quitted Paris to place himself at the head of a very great army, and now for the first time encountered the antagonist before whom he was at length fated to succumb. They had become not only national foes, but bitter personal enemies; and this neither in the cause of religion nor liberty, but simply because William, who was very proud of his Provençal ancestry, ardently desired to recover possession of the territory of Orange. Louis XIV. had obtained possession of this appanage, and had no objection to receive him as an Homager, or Vassal Peer, but desired the Prince to accept with it the hand of his illegitimate daughter, who became afterwards Princess de Conti. But while the one would not admit an enemy into Languedoc, the other would not debase his high blood with the bar sinister; and it is difficult to determine which of the two hated the other the most during the whole course of their lives.

Louis, always preferring a siege to a campaign, sat down before Maastricht on the 10th June. This place was garrisoned for William by 4000 men, under

1673. — De Farjaux, a brave and experienced captain. The siege lasted three weeks, and included repeated assaults, under which the brave garrison was reduced to half its number. But the French, on the other hand, are said to have lost 9000 men in the siege; and the place at length surrendered on capitulation [2]. Louis XIV. was pretty well satisfied with the glory of making the capture; and, instead of remaining in the field, he divided his army into three parts, which were respectively commanded by Turenne, Condé, and Luxemburg, while he quitted the field to decorate himself with laurels in his capital.

Louis XIV. takes Maastricht.

The Prince of Orange takes Noerden.

The Prince of Orange upon this ordered his army to march, and, recalling all his forces out of Zealand, again besieged Noerden. Luxemburg advanced with a view of raising the siege; but in spite of him William pursued his design, and forced the governor of the town to capitulate. The immoderate ambition of France now brought invaluable aid to the Dutch, for the Emperor and the King of Spain dispatched troops against Louis XIV. An Imperial army of 20,000 foot and 10,000 horse, under Montecuculi, marched down to the Low Countries; and Condé in vain attempted to prevent the junction of the two armies, which was effected after William had taken Rhynbeek by assault in the way; and the Confederates, not thinking themselves sufficiently repaid for the loss of Maastricht by the capture of Noerden, sat down before Bonn, which was garrisoned for the Elector of Treves by 2000 French. The Prince

[2] Prior to this siege of Maastricht, *L'Attaque des Places Fortes* consisted solely of an approach by zigzags directed on the crown of the glacis, always exposed of course to the direct fire of such batteries as could be established to check it. Vauban, seeing the risk and danger of this mode of proceeding, here invented "The Parallels," armed with heavy batteries that covered the approaches with their direct fire, and ruined the defences of the enemy by *ricochet*.

of Condé durst not hinder the siege, although he succeeded in passing 100 horse through the Confederate lines, who had made their way from Birchein into the city. The besiegers, however, advanced their trenches, and laid their mines, and were preparing for the assault, when the governor demanded articles, and surrendered the place upon the ordinary conditions. 1673. — Surrender of Bonn.

After this Montecuculi, having quitted the army to go to Vienna, the Prince of Orange assumed the entire command of the Confederates, and fell back to Vesseling. Although Turenne was at the head of an army on the banks of the Moselle, yet he was held there in check by the Duke of Lorraine; and the French, owing to the changes in their political affairs, were under the necessity of abandoning the greater part of their conquests in the Low Countries. Accordingly Luxembourg withdrew all his garrisons, making the inhabitants pay dearly before he left them. The whole of Holland was evacuated by the French at this time, excepting Grave and Maastricht. The States, to testify how sensible they were of the services done to the Republic by the Prince of Orange, entailed the dignity of Stadtholder upon his lawful issue by an instrument dated February 2, 1674.

[3] The King of France determined to indemnify himself for the loss of Holland by the acquisition of Franche Comté, which had already been once coveted, occupied, and again surrendered to the King of Spain, but which was now a second time overrun by the Duc de Noailles and Vauban, and taken possession of in six weeks—Condé at the same time occupying Besançon, Döle, and Salins. While these affairs were in progress, the Prince of Orange repaired to his army at Bergen-op-Zoom, and immediately carried it forward to Malines, 1674.

[3] I desire to correct an error of the press, which I find on present reference to have crept into my biography of Condé, where the transactions of 1674 have been inserted under 1673.

1674. keeping himself on his guard in Brabant to avail himself of contingencies. The French King, after the conquest of Franche Comté, returned to the pleasures of his palace; and the Imperialists advanced to Namur, where they took the Castle; and thence to Dinant; so that the Confederate armies, numbering 60.000, were again reunited in South Brabant towards the end of July. The Prince of Condé, at the head of 45,000 men, was encamped on the banks of the Pieton, and William determined to set upon his camp and give him battle. But finding, upon a reconnoisance, that the position taken up by his adversary was unassailable, he marched away towards Le Quesnoy. The line of march of the Confederate army was directed within a short league of the French camp; and notwithstanding this hazardous strategy, the tactics of the movement were in the highest degree objectionable. M. de Souches led the march, and was followed after an interval by the Corps de Bataille, under the Prince of Orange, who after another interval, was followed by the rear-guard under M. de Monterey. The latter had not got farther than Seneff on the 11th August, and the main army was about the little town of Binche, when Condé, who had observed with his keen eye the advantage which his young antagonist offered him by the exposure of the entire left flank of his army, at ten o'clock fell upon the rear, at a moment when the cavalry of which it was principally composed were entangled amongst the hedges and ditches, on which six guns opened with grape and canister. The Prince de Vaudemont, who commanded the cavalry, sent to the Prince of Orange for some battalions of foot, which His Highness sent up with all expedition under the young Prince Maurice of Nassau. Before the reinforcement, however, could arrive, Condé had attacked with such vigour at the head of horse, foot, and dragoons, that the Dutch were forced to draw off.

Battle of Seneff. Aug. 11.

As soon as they fell back, the enemy fell with great fury upon the horse from under covert of the hedges and bushes. The Prince of Vaudemont endeavoured to make head against him with Prince Maurice's battalions, but it was all in vain; and the three commanders—the Duke of Holstein, the Prince of Solms, and the Sieur De Langray—were taken prisoners; and the men ran away without even discharging their muskets. The Prince of Orange, sword in hand, endeavoured, by persuasion and example, to rally the fugitives, but was unable to stop them till they came upon a body of Spanish horse under the Duke de Villa Hermosa; when, about two o'clock, the Prince of Orange assumed a new position between St. Nicholas and Fayt, about which latter place was a great extent of hop-grounds. Here Condé made a renewed attack, the right led by Luxembourg, and the left by Navailles: the former, after a bloody contest of three hours, failed to get possession of the village, and the latter could not break the line; and in this state matters continued till ten o'clock at night. The Prince of Condé, contented with his victory of the previous evening, retired at break of day to his entrenched camp on the Pieton; and the Prince of Orange at the same time withdrew his army also from the battle-field. The French were said to have lost 8000 killed and wounded, and the Dutch 10,000, including some prisoners. The battle lasted fourteen hours, and the carnage was frightful. Condé himself had three horses killed under him. The Marquis de Chavagnac makes this just observation on this battle: "On which side soever the victory may have been, neither party gained any thing by it on which to sing a Te Deum. Nevertheless this was sung at the Hague, Brussels, Vienna, Madrid, and Paris. The Prince of Orange was undoubtedly overreached by Condé's attack, which caught him committing a flagrant military blunder; but he displayed undaunted bravery, having had several horses killed under him,

1674. —

Repulse of Condé.

1674. and sparing nothing that could repair his fault and facilitate a recovery of the victory; and in this "he carried himself," said Condé, "like an old captain in all, but only in venturing himself too much like a young man." Both armies withdrew into quarters; and it was this campaign that terminated Condé's brilliant career—as after this he was obliged, by the infirmities of gout and broken health, to withdraw from active service. William, however, still kept the field.

William captures Grave.

General Rabenhaupt had undertaken the siege of Grave, which was so vigorously defended that the Prince of Orange in person repaired to the trenches, and soon determined it by the surrender of the Marquis de Chamilly, the governor. The Confederate army then marched to Oudenarde, against which the trenches were opened on 16th September. This place was held for the King of France by a mixed garrison under the Sieur de Roquaire, and was immediately besieged; but the advance of the French army obliged William to raise the siege on the 9th October. The Allies then laid siege to Dinant and Huy, and Condé, tired of the campaign, made no effort to save them.

1675.

William is seized with the small-pox.

In the year 1675 the Prince of Orange was seized with the small-pox, and prevented from taking the field till it was so late in the year that nothing important could be undertaken by him. Both his father and mother had died of this disease in the prime of life; and it was enough to terrify a youth of twenty-five, even though he had seen death on many a battle-field. The disorder took a serious turn; for the eruption refused to come out, so that the worst consequences were anticipated. At this time an old woman's remedy, not quite worthy of the country of Boerhaave, was recommended by the attendant physicians,—that if some young healthy person, who had never had the disease, would enter the Prince's bed, and hold him in his arms for a short time, the animal warmth might cause the small-pox to break out, and the patient might

be saved. It was not easy to meet with any one with sufficient devotion to save the young Stadtholder at the risk, or almost certainty, of the sacrifice of his own life; but, at length, a young page of the Court, who had been William's playmate, and who lived to become his most cherished counsellor, ventured his life to save his friend and master. William of Orange recovered, and Bentinck caught the disease, from which he narrowly escaped with life. But he lived to hold the first place in the personal confidence and favour of William, was with him in all his wars, and was constantly employed by him in affairs of state throughout his reign: he is also said to have been the last person to whom William spoke on his death-bed. 1675. — Recovers. The devotion of Bentinck.

Although negotiators for a peace assembled at Nimeguen in the beginning of the year 1676, yet this circumstance did not prevent the Christian King from continuing the slaughter of mankind for the gratification of his own absurd ambition. The Prince of Orange therefore continued during the winter to get his army well organized to receive his adversaries at the opening of the ensuing campaign. Turenne was was now dead, and Condé invalided; so that the French armies took the field under the Marshals de Crequi and D'Humières, the latter of whom crossed the frontier opposite Courtrai with 15,000 men, and laid all the country round under contribution, because the Spanish force there was not able to hinder them. Crequi also advanced on the 26th April to blockade Condé with 16,000 men; and William came down to unite his forces with those of the Duke de Villa Hermosa, on news arriving that Louis XIV. had quitted Paris with a reinforcement of 10,000 men under the Duke of Orleans. The King arrived in time to witness the surrender of Condé, which His Highness was unable to relieve, and then sat down before Bouchain, which the Grand Monarque captured likewise on 10th May, and then returned to Paris in 1676. Negotiations for peace. The French take Condé and Bouchain.

1676. the beginning of July. The Prince of Orange was unable with only 35,000 men against 48,000 to interfere with these operations; but as soon as the King had given up the command, and the French army had become divided, he proceeded to invest Maastricht. The siege was carried on the entire year with great vigour and resolution, but with no successful result. His Highness had at this period in his army a division of 2600 English troops under the command of Colonels Fenwick, Widdington, and Ashby; and these were augmented during the autumn by a number of volunteers, who came across from England to witness a campaign. These young fire-eaters made it a personal request to the Prince that they might be permitted to try their hand at assaulting the stone wall, and signalized themselves, as may readily be believed, with extraordinary valour in a matter so characteristically British.

The siege of Maastricht raised.

The siege having been raised 29th August, the Dùtch army turned into winter quarters; and the Prince of Orange, leaving it under the command of Count Waldeck, returned to the Hague to meet the States in their General Assembly. He found that the negotiators at Nimeguen were making but slow progress towards a peace, and therefore made his preparations

1677. for a new campaign in 1677. Before the winter broke

The French capture Valenciennes.

up, the French army, numbering from 50,000 to 60,000 men, took the field under the Maréchal Duke of Luxembourg, and on 28th February invested Valenciennes, which was garrisoned by 2000 Walloons, Spanish and Italian infantry, and by 1000 horse, under the brother of the Prince d'Epernay. Louis XIV. always liked a siege, and arrived in person at the French camp earlier than usual, and gave orders himself for the opening of the trenches and the place of the batteries. The fire was hot upon the ramparts and upon the town; and Vauban judiciously advised an attack in the morning, when it would be least expected;